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TO "ALLEGORIZE ON ONE'S OWN HOOK": DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI AND THE MOXON TENNYSON

BY

PATRICIA LEIGH SHAPKA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

THE HISTORY OF ART AND DESIGN

DEPARTMENT OF ART AND DESIGN

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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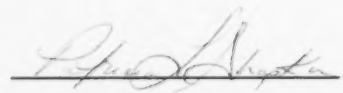

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Abstract

Dante Gabriel Rossetti viewed the role of illustration and illustrated editions of poetry as a means to "allegorize on one's own hook on the subject of the poem, without killing for oneself and everyone, a distinct idea of the poet's." Rossetti's quote is often used to explain the unconventional nature of his illustrations, as well as those of other Pre-Raphaelites for the Moxon Tennyson. Indeed, the illustrations by Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais, are often cited as the reason for the initial financial failure of the Moxon Tennyson. However, upon review, it becomes evident that the book's initial poor sales were, in part, caused by the public's lack of appreciation for, or understanding of, Pre-Raphaelite philosophy. Ironically, when the innovative work of Rossetti and the other Pre-Raphaelites was later appreciated, the Moxon Tennyson came to be considered one of the most important books in the history of English illustration.

Edward Moxon, the publisher, encountered numerous problems with the Moxon Tennyson, all of which contributed to the book's initial commercial failure. In addition to production difficulties, there was the problem of Rossetti's strained relationships with Moxon himself, as well as his engravers, the Dalziel brothers. To date, Pre-Raphaelite historians have neglected to explore these relationships in sufficient detail. Furthermore, few have examined the reviews of the Moxon Tennyson, which clearly indicate that contemporary critics viewed the role of illustration differently than Rossetti did. The critics were unhappy with both the style and content of some of the Pre-Raphaelite contributions, especially Rossetti's. Evidently critics were unable to decipher Rossetti's symbolism, despite the fact that it was characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

The artistic and literary trends during the Pre-Raphaelite period

can be reconstructed by analysing contemporary reviews of the Moxon Tennyson and Pre-Raphaelite art, the letters of the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates, as well as numerous critical essays. Through such a reconstruction, I hope to shed light upon the complexity of issues surrounding the Moxon Tennyson and the role of illustration within Victorian society. Finally, the thesis will explore the factors which influenced Rossetti in his inspirational, innovative and controversial designs.

Acknowledgement

My warmest thanks go to Bridget Elliott, my supervisor, for her inspiration, guidance, wisdom and patience. I am also indebted to the staff of the Department of Art and Design and the University of Alberta Library staff for their kind assistance over the last four years. My dearest friends, Ann Lennarson, Sharon Culham, Tania Dean and Jeannie Dominey, and my sisters, Karen Tomyn and Maureen Tomyn, provided encouragement and assistance which was invaluable and I thank them from my heart. I would like to express my appreciation to Fay Petkus and Joan Shapka for their help and wonderful care of Alexandra. My deepest and sincerest gratitude goes to my parents, Kathleen and Michael Tomyn for their faith and tireless efforts in helping me to succeed in this endeavour and for being such wonderful grandparents to Alexandra. Finally, I would like to give a special thanks to my wonderfully supportive husband Brad, for his constant encouragement, and to whom I am eternally grateful.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....1

Chapter One: Edward Moxon.....8
Notes.....16

Chapter Two: Rossetti and the Engravers.....19
Notes.....32

Chapter Three: The Reviews.....36
Notes.....56

Chapter Four: Symbolism and Typology.....59
Notes.....74

Chapter Five: The Arthurian Legends.....79
Notes.....94

Chapter Six: Tennyson.....97
Notes.....111

Conclusion.....114

Illustrations.....116

Bibliography.....136

List of Illustrations

Page

1. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia: The Palace of Art, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 7.9 cm). Moxon Tennyson. 116

2. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur: The Palace of Art, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 1/8 x 3 11/16 in. (8.0 x 9.4 cm). Moxon Tennyson. 117

3. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mariana in the South, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 13/16 x 3 1/4 in. (9.7 x 8.2 cm). Moxon Tennyson. 118

4. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Sir Galahad, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 3/4 x 3 1/8 in. (8.0 x 9.5 cm). Moxon Tennyson. 119

5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 3/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm). Moxon Tennyson. 120

6. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Maids of Elfen-Mere, 1855, wood engraving on paper, 4 15/16 x 3 in. (12.5 x 7.6 cm). William Allingham, Music Master (London: Routledge, 1855). 121

7. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901). 122

8. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901). 123

9. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mariana in the South, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901). 124

10. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, pen and ink, 3 7/8 x 3 1/4 in. (9.8 x 8.2 cm). Permission of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. 125

11. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, pen and brown and black ink, 5 x 4 in. (12.7 x 10.2 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 126

12. William Holman Hunt, The Lady of Shalott, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Afred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901). 127

13. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 7.9 cm). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 128

14. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur, 1857, proof on paper, 3 1/8 x 3 11/16 in. (8.0 x 9.4 cm). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 129

15. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 in. (9.4 cm x 8.1 cm). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 130

16. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm). By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. 131

17. John Franklin, King Arthur's Death, 1842, wood engraving on papers. Samuel Carter Hall, The Book of British Ballads (London: J. How, 1842). 132

18. Page 113 from the Moxon Tennyson. Illustration by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 133

19. Gustave Doré, The Body of Elaine on Its Way to King Arthur's Palace, 1868, steel engraving on paper Alfred Lord Tennyson, Idylls of the King (London: Moxon & Company, 1868). 134

20. William Holman Hunt, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm), Moxon Tennyson. 135

Introduction

The Moxon Tennyson is best known for its Pre-Raphaelite illustrations which have attracted interest since they were first published in 1857. While most scholars agree that the illustrations are controversial, and that they set a new standard in their field, few have looked at how the illustrations were received by the critics at the time. Many have felt that the Pre-Raphaelite contributions were to blame for the initially slow sales of the Moxon Tennyson, yet in the end, it was precisely the Pre-Raphaelite work which sent the book into reprints in later years. Moxon experienced a financial loss with the book, but Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites both profited from the project.

The initial financial failure of the Moxon Tennyson was multi-faceted. There were a number of problems which related to the book's price, its targeted audience, its lack of new material, the depressed economy and a missed Christmas launch date. Although Moxon originally felt that the process of compiling the illustrated edition would be a simple endeavour, he had difficulties coordinating the illustrators and engravers, especially Rossetti and the Dalziel brothers. Although the Dalziel brothers were experienced engravers, they had difficulties interpreting Rossetti's designs. Rossetti, on the other hand, found the Dalziels' craftsmanship unrefined and, as a result, had to revise his designs many times. Rossetti was not alone in his discontent with the outcome of his illustrations. The reviewers were also critical of Rossetti's work. Not only did they find his wood engravings overly detailed and spatially awkward, they did not feel that Rossetti's designs accurately reflected the content of Tennyson's poems. It is here that Rossetti's desire to "allegorize on one's own hook" becomes significant. Rossetti felt that the role of the illustrator was not merely to recreate

the images that the poet expressed, but to interpret the passages in a way that presented the viewer with an expressive representation of equal value. Rossetti's viewpoint was not necessarily shared by his contemporaries. According to some critics of the day, illustrators were to closely mirror the text and "recreate" the author's passages. According to others, the artist was entitled to extrapolate as little or as much from the literature as he/she needed in order to create a personal expression.[1] As we shall see, only the latter sort of critic was able to appreciate Rossetti's designs.

Such divergent interpretations about the purpose of illustration meant that critics had different expectations with respect to the Moxon Tennyson. Many reviewers felt that Rossetti took liberties in his illustrations which were unjustified, in terms of both their style and content. With respect to the latter, they did not understand the allegorical nature of his designs and found his symbolic language unfamiliar and inaccessible. Such critics did not appreciate the fact that Rossetti had been influenced by a growing interest in symbolism and typology on the part of certain Victorian writers and artists. Rossetti was not an isolated or eccentric phenomenon, but rather a participant in a larger movement from which he created his own personal symbolic language.

Another important art trend to influence Rossetti during this period was the revival of the Arthurian legends. While, for the most part, the legends were adopted by the British aristocracy in an attempt to foster patriotism, artistic communities, including the Pre-Raphaelites, also embraced the legends for their own purposes. While the subject matter was familiar and acceptable to Victorian audiences, Rossetti challenged his viewers by presenting Arthurian images which were emotional in interpretation rather than the more usual action-oriented

depictions. In this respect, Rossetti's images were in keeping with Tennyson's interpretation of the legends, since the poet had also stressed the emotional quality of the characters.

Despite the critics' disappointment at the time, the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations inspired a new group of illustrators who, like Rossetti, criticized the prevailing popular but mediocre style of vignette illustrations. Rossetti's Moxon Tennyson contributions proved inspirational for this new movement. He elevated illustration to a new level, making it poetry's equal. This equality of the two media was further enhanced by Moxon's decision to separate the text from the poems.

At the time, many felt that the combination of academic and Pre-Raphaelite illustrations in the same edition divided the audience, resulting in a book that appealed to neither sector. Unfortunately, Moxon was caught between accommodating Tennyson's wish to include the Pre-Raphaelites and his publishing experience which told him that successful illustrations came from well-recognized academic artists. In the long term it might be argued that his decisions proved positive. When George Routledge took over the remainders in 1863 the book sold well and warranted reprints. These sales reflected the buyers' interest in Pre-Raphaelite work. Ultimately, the Moxon Tennyson went on to become one of the most important books in the history of illustration.

Rossetti's contributions to the Moxon Tennyson are perhaps the most visually distinct of all the illustrations submitted. He confined his images to their restricted borders, and pushed his figures to the foreground filling every corner with a myriad of symbolic details. The shallow, highly patterned images disrupt traditional notions of perspective and thus challenged the reader. Yet, at the same time, they are deeply emotional and surprisingly reverent. Rossetti's five illustrations to the Moxon Tennyson are unique even in relation to those

illustrations submitted by his Pre-Raphaelite brothers.[2] A brief description of each one helps us understand how they affected the field of illustration.

The design that stirred the most controversy, St. Cecilia, for "The Palace of Art" (figure 1), was an extrapolation from the lines:

> Or in a clear-wall'd city on the sea
> Near gilded organ-pipes, her hair
> Wound with white roses, slept St. Cecily;
> An angel look'd at her.
> (ll. 97-100)[3]

Rossetti's angel does more than "look" at St. Cecilia. Instead, he kisses her while she kneels in front of an organ. Although the background is comprised of the walled city that Tennyson describes, in the foreground Rossetti added the details of a sentry eating an apple. Crowded and congested, the composition recalls Rossetti's The Death of Arthur, from "The Palace of Art" (figure 2), Mariana in the South (figure 3), Sir Galahad (figure 4) and The Lady of Shalott (figure 5).

In Rossetti's second illustration to "The Palace of Art", The Death of Arthur, he drew from Tennyson's lines:

> Or mythic Uthur's deeply-wounded son
> In some fair space of sloping greens
> Lay, dozing in the vale of Avalon,
> And watch'd by weeping queens.
> (ll. 104-108)

Rossetti's Arthur is barely visible as he is surrounded by a protective circle of grieving queens. The focus is on the range of emotional sadness which the queens experience. The setting is crowded and Rossetti uses an abundance of detail, especially evident in his treatment of the long locks of the queens' hair. In the background Rossetti added a ship to take Arthur away which Tennyson had not mention.[4]

In Mariana in the South, Rossetti relied even less on the poem for

his design than he did in the case of St. Cecilia. Rossetti drew his inspiration for his Mariana in the South from Tennyson's lines:

> Till all the crimson changed, and past
> Into deep orange o'er the sea,
> Low on her knees herself she cast,
> Before Our Lady murmur'd she;
> (ll. 25-28)

Interestingly, Rossetti situated his Mariana in front of a crucifix instead of an image of Mary. Clutching her letters, and kissing the feet of Christ, Mariana challenges the viewer with her sensuous nature.[3]

Returning to the Arthurian theme, Sir Galahad is derived from Tennyson's lines:

> Between dark stems the forest glows,
> I hear a noise of hymns;
> There by some secret shrine I ride;
> I hear a voice but none are there;
> The stalls are void, the doors are wide,
> The tapers burning fair.
> Fair gleams the snowy altar-cloth,
> The silver vessels sparkle clean,
> The shrill bell rings, the censer swings,
> And solemn chaunts resound between.
> (ll. 26-36)

Rossetti focuses on the knight kneeling at the alter. Below, four women, illuminated by the light of the alter, ring the bells. None are mentioned in Tennyson's lines. Sir Galahad looms disproportionately large in the foreground in comparison to the women beneath the stairs. Yet because Rossetti has filled every inch of the engraving with detail, Sir Galahad's size does not detract from the overall effect of the design.

Rossetti's final contribution to the Moxon Tennyson was The Lady of Shalott which was drawn from the following lines of Tennyson's poem:

> Under tower and balcony,
> By garden-wall and gallery,
> A gleaming shape she floated by,

Dead-pale between the houses high,
Silent into Camelot.
Out upon the wharfs they came,
Knight and burgher, lord and dame,
And round the prow they read her name,
The Lady of Shalott.

Who is this? and what is here?
And in the lighted palace near
Died the sound of royal cheer;
And they cross'd themselves for fear,
All the knights at Camelot:
But Lancelot mused a little space;
He said, "She has a lovely face;
God in his mercy lend her grace,
The Lady of Shalott".
(ll. 154-171)

Similar to his composition for Sir Galahad, Rossetti's The Lady of Shalott focuses not on the Lady herself, but on Lancelot who was the cause of her demise. Lancelot's empathy for the Lady of Shalott is evident in his face which creates a spiritual bonding of the two figures.

Rossetti's designs incorporated poetic lines which anchored his illustrations to the text, yet at times, these ties were unconventionally brief. Consistently, Rossetti's Moxon Tennyson illustrations were quiet and reverent, despite their dizzying array of details. Because his decisions concerning composition and content were not ones which his engravers, critics, or audiences accepted readily, they must be examined more closely. Nevertheless, these decisions clearly affected the Moxon Tennyson's sales. Unbeknownst to Rossetti and his Pre-Raphaelite brothers, their Moxon Tennyson illustrations would not only alter the role of illustration and illustrated editions, but would become the most influential designs of the Victorian era.

NOTES

[1]Peggy Fogelman discusses some views of illustration in her "The Moxon Tennyson and Pre-Raphaelite Illustration," from Ladies of Shalott: A Victorian Masterpiece and Its Contexts (Bell Gallery, Brown University, 1985):18-19.

[2]The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood consisted of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, William Michael Rossetti, Thomas Woolner, James Collinson and Frederic George Stephens.

[3]Alfred Lord Tennyson, Poems (London: Edward Moxon, 1857). All further line references are drawn from this source.

[4]Richard L.Stein, "The Pre-Raphaelite Tennyson," Victorian Studies (Spring 1981):282.

[5]Peggy Fogelman, Ladies of Shalott, p. 26. Fogelman feels that in Rossetti's decision to make Christ the object of Mariana's prayers "Rossetti discards an appeal to maternal love and introduces the possibility of an appeal to love between the sexes."

Chapter One: Edward Moxon

The initial financial failure of the Moxon Tennyson is curious especially given the fact that the book has been considered a hallmark of innovative illustrative design in the latter half of the nineteenth-century.[1] It has been said that the book was the cause of Moxon's untimely death in June of 1858, a little over a year after the book was placed on the booksellers' shelves.[2] Although Moxon was an experienced publisher, he was unable to maintain the control necessary to create a saleable item.[3] His previously successful marketing strategy failed when applied to the Moxon Tennyson.[4] His marketing problems included missing the original launch date, over-pricing the book, not including new poems which would facilitate literary reviews, and allowing inconsistencies in the illustrative designs.

Ironically, the illustrated edition proved lucrative for the author and for Moxon's competitor, Routledge and Company. In fact, Tennyson profited handsomely from the edition while Moxon bore the loss. This was as a result of Moxon's offer of a lump sum payment to Tennyson in return for contractual forfeiture. Tennyson quickly agreed to Moxon's generous offer, unaware that future royalties from the book would prove considerable.

By 1854 both Tennyson's The Princess and In Memoriam were still selling well in the bookstores and the prospects for Maud and Other Poems due to be released in 1855, looked promising. On this basis, Moxon was optimistic enough about the illustrated edition to promise Tennyson at least £2000 profits from the book. He soon realized that the book would be a failure, for by July 18, 1857 (only two months after the book was launched), only 1300 copies had been sold. Four days later, realizing that sales were poor, and that Tennyson would not receive the profits

anticipated in the standard agreement, Moxon offered Tennyson £2000 to nullify their contract. Moxon's generous offer was made in order to keep Tennyson, his best selling author, content, given that Moxon had originally promised Tennyson substantial gains from the edition.

Moxon's company suffered a further loss when they sold 5000 copies of the Moxon Tennyson as remainders in 1863 to Routledge and Company, who in turn reduced the price of the book to one guinea. This stock was sold within two years. Routledge paid Tennyson a royalty of four shillings per copy netting Tennyson a further £923 4s 0d. Once the original stock had been sold, Routledge printed an additional 5000 copies in 1865 and another 5000 copies in 1869. Tennyson again received the four shilling royalty. In total, Tennyson netted £4769 12s 0d on the illustrated edition, which contrasted sharply with Moxon's substantial losses.[5]

At this point it is important to consider how Moxon went so drastically wrong. No one difficulty can be singled out as the cause of the failure, rather it was an accumulation of problems. Without doubt, Tennyson was a factor in this failure. The illustrated edition ran contrary to a number of Tennyson's prefered practices of book production. Although he was a great admirer of art, he generally disliked illustrations to his poems. In essence, he felt the illustrations only detracted from the power of his poetry. As well, he was unimpressed by "coffee table" books which seemed too commercial and frivolous.[6] Further, the Moxon Tennyson was expensive whereas the author preferred his work to be marketed at affordable prices which would appeal to the general public rather than solely to the wealthy. Expensive books were usually borrowed through the circulating libraries whereas cheaper editions could be bought individually. Finally, it should be noted that Tennyson had been very cautious in his publishing ventures since the publication of his Poems in 1832, when harsh criticism of the Quarterly

Review had resulted in poor sales and Tennyson's pride being injured. In the case of the illustrated edition, however, Tennyson was motivated by the need to raise capital in order to purchase Farringford on the Isle of Wight. Farringford was a large property which Tennyson had leased with the option of buying. Tennyson's annual income from Moxon had drop to under £500 due to the depressed economy. Motivated by the need for money and with no new poems ready for publication, Tennyson agreed to Moxon's offer notwithstanding his reservations.[7]

Moxon's past illustrated editions, most notable those by Samuel Rogers, had been financially profitable.[8] Tennyson felt convinced that Moxon could produce a successful edition for him as well. His interest in the project was demonstrated by the fact that he suggested Rossetti and Hunt for the project.[9] Significantly, they were not included in Moxon's letter of February 27, 1854 which listed the proposed artists as Edwin Landseer, William Mulready, Thomas Creswick and John Everett Millais, and recommended Clarkson Stanfield, Daniel Maclise, John Calcott Horsley and A.B. Frost as men "who could draw on wood."[10] Undoubtedly, when Tennyson initially suggested Rossetti and Hunt, he was unaware that their work would attract negative attention.

Moxon's basis for selecting Millais was his solid reputation as an artist and illustrator. As an illustrator, Millais depicted only that which the author felt was appropriate. Not only did Millais use Tennyson's son as a model, but he consulted Tennyson on the poems he had selected to illustrate. Rossetti and Hunt differed from Millais in that they saw their illustrations as art which would accompany the text and worked without consulting Tennyson or considering his wishes. Although Tennyson scarcely could have predicted the public's reaction to the Pre-Raphaelite designs, Moxon should have anticipated that the presence of the Pre-Raphaelites would prove problematic. The Saturday Review stated

that if Moxon had limited the illustrations to only those of academic artists then "the book might have lost in variety, but it would have gained in unity of character."[11] In retrospect, Hunt agreed that it was the differences in the two types of illustrations that divided the book's audience.

> Those who liked the work of artists long established in favour felt that the pages on which our designs appeared destroyed the attractiveness of the volume, and the few who approved of our inventions would not give the price of the publication, because there was so large a proportion of the contributions of the kind which they did not value.[12]

Hunt's statement indicated that the stylistic diversity of the illustrations was as responsible for the poor sales of the book, as was its high price (a guinea and a half).

Moxon should have been aware that Rossetti was unaccustomed to conforming to a house style or format of illustration since Routledge had experienced problems with Rossetti's work for William Allingham's Music Master, for which he had contributed one illustration.[13] Tennyson may have known about Rossetti's inflexibilities for he was well acquainted with the Pre-Raphaelites, as well as their advocate, John Ruskin. Moxon, even if he had been unsure of Rossetti's results, tended to believe that controversy promoted discussion which, in turn, was a form of advertising. He also felt confident that the illustrated edition would be as successful as his previous projects and that the Moxon name, which stood for high quality and excellence in publishing circles, would in itself ensure sales. The Moxon Tennyson was of superior quality and this was important because it was intended to reflect the status of the author, and the integrity of the publisher. The paper, bindings and printing were luxurious. The designing and engraving costs were

expensive. Moxon wrote to Emily Tennyson that "neither labour nor expense has been spared in the getting up of the book - the very best artists have been employed, and for the designs and engraving alone I have paid upward of £1500."[14] The engravings cost about £5 each and the designs between £12 and £30 each. The higher figure was the amount for which Rossetti was contracted. The engravers included the Dalziels, W.J. Linton, T. Williams, and John Thompson, all of whom were considered to be the best in London. All were skilled at both engraving and transferring designs.[15] The expense of utilizing the best materials and highly skilled artisans inflated the cost of the book to a guinea and a half instead of the previously estimated guinea.[16] But the cost also reflected the expense of Moxon's copyright. In a letter to Emily Tennyson, Moxon responded to her concern over the price: "Mr. Routledge it is true makes the price of his annual volumes a guinea, but your friend [Tennyson] should bear in mind that he pays **nothing** for copyright."[17] This increased price had the unfortunate effect of alienating Tennyson's readers who normally purchased his works at much lower prices (usually 5 or 6 shillings).[18] It is worth noting that Moxon had been encouraged to produce a quality edition by various booksellers who felt that a Poet Laureate deluxe edition would sell well.[19] Evidently he felt such an edition would be successful and ordered 10,000 copies for the first edition. Previously he had run 5,000 copies of In Memoriam in 1850 and 10,000 copies of Maud in 1855.

The illustrated edition is divided into three main sections with the headings: Poems (published 1830), Poems (published 1832) and English Idyls and Other Poems (published 1842). Many of Tennyson's readers would have already possessed the 1830 and 1832 poems and most would have purchased one of the many editions of the 1842 poems.[20] Therefore, acquiring the illustrated edition at a guinea and a half meant purchasing

duplicate poems at a very high price. Certainly Tennyson's readers were accustomed to a more simple, yet elegant, presentation of his poems.[21] In this respect, the ornateness of the illustrated edition was inconsistent with previous Moxon editions. It is certain that the addition of a fourth section, comprised of new, previously unpublished poems would have attracted greater sales and heightened interest on the part of the reviewers. The lack of new poetry was especially important since Moxon relied heavily on reviews as a source of advertising.

Moxon's reliance on reviews contrasted with most mid-nineteenth century publishers, who generally used a variety of advertising methods including press announcements, prospectuses, house organs, display material for bookshops, picture jackets as well as the practice of sending out books for review.[22] Compared to other established publishing houses in the 1850s Moxon's advertising budget was very modest. He spent approximately £20 to £40 to advertise a new book, while other houses spent up to £150.[23] Moxon felt that the most important form of advertising came in the form of "social talk, business reputation, and reviews."[24] In an 1842 letter to Wordsworth, Moxon wrote: "A review, even with a sprinkling of abuse in it, is, in my opinion, worth a hundred advertisements."[25] His advertisements generally appeared in three periodicals: the Athenaeum, Leigh Hunt's London Journal, and the London Times. He also used flyleaf notices in his books which announced additional available Moxon publications. These notices, usually six to eight pages long, were inserted at the beginning or end of the publication. A copy of the book was sent for review to the periodicals in which Moxon advertised. In many cases these reviews were favourable, which ensured that the magazine would retain the publisher's business.[26] Moxon also sent books for review to periodicals with which he did not have a business relationship. In order to compensate for his small

advertising budget, Moxon cultivated many friendships in publishing circles and focused on understanding the review system.[27] By doing so, he hoped to avoid repeating the tragedy of Tennyson's 1832 Poems which had been harshly criticized by reviewers.[28]

Of the five periodicals which reviewed the illustrated edition, three reviews were influential and two were of lesser consequence. The latter included a small paragraph in the Athenaeum (May 30th, 1857) and a few paragraphs in the Bibliothèque universelle (January 1858). The three periodicals which provided more detailed, critical reviews were the Westminster Review (October 1857), the Saturday Review (June 27th, 1857), and the Art Journal (June 1857). Overall, the reviews were less than positive, with the Westminster Review being the most generous, and the Art Journal being most harsh. Of the three Pre-Raphaelites who contributed to the illustrated edition, Rossetti was, by far, the least popular with the critics. These reviews will be analyzed in chapter three, but at this point they indicate that Moxon's limited advertising policy may have been a problem. Certainly his philosophy that a "sprinkle of abuse" would foster discussion and thereby sell books did not work to his advantage.

The fact that the deluxe edition failed to be delivered to the bookstores by its designated pre-Christmas date cannot be overlooked. The timing of the book's release was crucial to its success. To make matters worse, the book's delayed release in May coincided with a period of inflation and a downturn in the economy. Items such as illustrated books, which would have been suitable gifts during the Christmas season, were less popular in the financially depressed conditions of the spring. The target date was not met because of numerous delays in production. Since the poems had been previously published, one cannot fault Tennyson for the delays.

Certainly Tennyson had a reputation for requesting numerous alterations and proofs before printing, but Moxon had always been able to manage these problems. However, in this instance, the illustrated edition involved more than one contributor. Coordinating the illustrators and engravers was a difficult task, and Rossetti certainly contributed to the problem with his constant delays and lack of cooperation. William Rossetti described how his brother "corrected, altered, protested, and sent back blocks to be amended."[29] Moxon, after numerous attempts to prompt Rossetti to complete his contract, enlisted the aid of Hunt in 1856. Even Hunt could not induce Rossetti to complete his illustrations for "The Vision of Sin" which had been one of his first selections.[30] Rossetti had also, informally, agreed to design a second illustration for "Sir Galahad" which also remained unfinished. Rossetti's delays resulted from his inexperience with the woodcut medium and his desire to perfect his designs. However, he also complained of difficulties with the engravers. While Rossetti felt that the engravers were inept, the engravers felt that Rossetti's designs were unsuitable. These problems, stemming from Moxon's inability to control the publication, culminated in the commercial failure of the 1857 illustrated edition.

NOTES

[1]Gleeson White, English Illustration, "The Sixties": 1855-1870 (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1897):99. George Somes Layard, Tennyson and His Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators: A Book About a Book (London: E. Stock, 1894):1. Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975, reprint of 1928):30.

[2]William Michael Rossetti is quoted as saying: "I have heard it said - but I suppose this is only to be construed as a grim joke, not as a sober and grievous reality - that 'Rossetti killed Moxon.'" Albert Friedman, "The Tennyson of 1857," More Books 23 (1948):16. William Holman Hunt also referred to this rumour in his Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Chapman and Hall, 1913):II, 75.

[3]The records of Edward Moxon and his publishing company consist of a few letters. He left no business journals, diaries, or accounts. The publishing records after his death, from 1858-68, were destroyed in a fire during World War II. H.G. Merriam, Edward Moxon: Publisher of Poets (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939) is the primary source for much of the information relating to Moxon although it is based mostly on secondary sources.

[4]Moxon's primary interest was in poetry and he published works by Coleridge, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Southey, Rogers, Lamb, Hunt, Campbell, Taylor, Knowles, Browning, Barrett, Patmore, Baillie, Longfellow and Tennyson.

[5]June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers (London: Macmillan, 1979):109.

[6]Ibid., p. 102.

[7]Ibid., p. 90.

[8]Ibid., p. 23. Samuel Rogers lent Moxon L500 to start up his business and paid for the costs of Italy himself.

[9]Rossetti and Hunt were not included in the initial list made by Moxon, therefore Tennyson must have suggested the names, although there is no letter or document in which he specifically cites them.

[10]Letter From Moxon to Tennyson, dated 27 February 1854. June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 103. Frost and Landseer did not participate. Of the fifty-four illustrations in the Moxon Tennyson, Rossetti contributed five, Hunt seven, and Millais eighteen. Twenty-four of the illustrations were from the academic artists. Woolner contributed the frontispiece.

[11]"Tennyson," Saturday Review (June 27, 1857):601.

[12]William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, II, 75.

[13]William Allingham, Music Master (London: Routledge & Co., 1855).

[14]Letter from Moxon to Emily Tennyson, spring 1857. June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 105.

[15]Woodcuts and wood engravings were favoured for expensive books because copper engravings could only withstand about 500 runs through the roller-presses.

[16]The price of the Moxon Tennyson was similar to a three decker novel. Raymond Watkinson, Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design (London: Studio Vista, 1970):56.

[17]Letter from Moxon to Emily Tennyson, spring 1857. June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 105.

[18]When the 1842 poems were issued in two volumes the price was 12 shillings. When the poems were issued in one book the price was 9 shillings. The 1851 and 1853 editions of Poems (1842) sold for 9s in cloth or 18s if bound in morocco. Poems, Chiefly Lyrical (1830) was priced at 5s and Poems (1832) at 6s. A Bibliography of the Writings of Alfred, Lord Tennyson (London: Printed For Private Circulation by Richard Clay and Sons, Ltd., 1908).

[19]In a letter to Moxon & Co. October (?) 1858, Emily Tennyson wrote that "The Illustration of the Poems was entirely the late Mr. Moxon's own proposal on occasion of the encouragement given him to mrk. [sic] a publication by different book sellers with whom he had transactions respecting the Illustrated Edition of Keats (they would take 2000 but if they had Tennyson they would have taken many more). James O. Hoge, ed., The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974):120.

[20]Poems from Alfred Tennyson, Poems, Chiefly Lyrical (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1830); Alfred Tennyson, Poems (London: Edward Moxon, 64 New Bond Street, 1833). (This book was actually issued in December of 1832, and is known as the 1832 poems even though the publishing date of the book is 1833); Alfred Tennyson, Morte D'Arthur; Dora; and Other Idyls (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1842); were reprinted in Alfred Tennyson, Poems, Two Volumes, (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1842); Second Edition, 1843; Third Edition, 1845; Fourth Edition, 1846; Fifth Edition, 1848; Sixth Edition, 1850; Seventh Edition, 1851 (Poet Laureate); Eighth Edition, 1853; Ninth Edition, 1853; Tenth Edition, 1855; Eleventh Edition, 1857; Illustrated Edition, 1857. The twelfth to twenty-fourth editions ran from 1858 to 1872. After this three more editions were printed by other publishers: Alfred Tennyson, Poems, Two Volumes, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883); Alfred Lord Tennyson, The Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Methuen & Co., 1899); Alfred Lord Tennyson, The Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson edited and annotated by John Churton Collins. (London: Methuen & Co., 1900).

[21]June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, pp. 25-26.

[22]Margerie Plant, The English Book Trade: An Economic History (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1939):409.

[23]Ibid., p. 408. See also June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 26.

[24]G.Merriam, Edward Moxon, p. 78.

[25]This letter is cited in Harold G. Merriam, Edward Moxon, p. 78.

[26]Margerie Plant, The English Book Trade: An Economic History, p. 430.

[27]Moxon was good friends with John Forster, a well-known reviewer. June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 26.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., p. 105.

[30]Moxon did not decide which artists would illustrate which poems. The artists themselves chose which poems, and passages, they wished to design and there seems to have been little conflict except in the case of "The Lady of Shalott" wherein Rossetti and Hunt both laid claim to its illustrating. Hunt had already begun an illustration to the poem, even before he was approached to contribute to the Moxon Tennyson, and agreed to let Rossetti create a design for the latter part.

Chapter Two: Rossetti and the Engravers

Rossetti's strained relationship with his publishers and engravers, and his difficulty in completing projects, was well documented. Rossetti's dislike of the engravers, particularly the Dalziel brothers, was rooted in the fact that he considered engravers to be craftsmen rather than artists, and because he lacked a proper understanding of the engraving technique. Rossetti's proofs were reworked many times as he tried to perfect the images. The engravers willingly cooperated in these reworkings even though Rossetti was unsure whether or not he had solved the issues which were worrying him. Rossetti relied on the advice of his fellow artists to overcome some of the problems created by his overuse of shadowing and his desire to sketch in washes and chalks.

Rossetti's problems with the Moxon Tennyson were similar to his experiences while working on William Allingham's Music Master of 1855, which had been published by George Routledge.[1] This project, an illustrated edition of Allingham's poems, introduced Rossetti to the method of wood engraving and resulted in his Maids of Elfen-Mere (figure 6). Something of Rossetti's initial excitement over the Music Master project is captured by his comments in a letter to his close friend, Allingham. Anxious to begin work on the project, on May 2nd, 1854 Rossetti wrote: "I wish you would get those wood-blocks (at any rate two or three) sent by Routledge at once...I have made a sketch for one."[2] This letter reveals Rossetti's intention to make several illustrations for the project; however, he ultimately only completed the one. Arthur Hughes commented on Rossetti's difficulty in selecting a poem to illustrate:

> I have been hunting him [Rossetti] up every day since getting your last, but have not succeeded in hunting him down yet, to know if he intends

> to design the children, or the Maids of Elfen-Mere or both...I opened my letter to say that Rossetti just sends me work, but in great haste, that he believes he shall stick to the Maids of Elfen-Mere, but I expect from his letter that he is somewhat uncertain.[3]

In the case of the Music Master we find that Rossetti's initial block for the Maids of Elfen-Mere, originally completed in October of 1854, contained an error which required a total reworking of the block:

> I have drawn the Maids of Elfen-Mere once on the wood, and find I have committed a stupid mistake in not drawing the actions reversed, so that, when printed, the figures will be left-handed. I am therefore going to trace and draw it again on another block, which I trust will soon be in Routledge's hands. I shall like, if I can find time, to do a second drawing from some other of the poems.[4]

A month later Hughes visited Rossetti only to find the Maids of Elfen-Mere redrawing still not completed. "I paid Rossetti a visit a fortnight since and found the drawing for the Maids of Elfen-Mere half done."[5] Such retracing and redrawing probably would have hampered Rossetti's ability to stay true to his original design. Perhaps sensing that the outcome would be less than he hoped, Rossetti began to question the engravers' abilities.

> I hope, above all, they mean to have the drawings well cut. For my part I should like to tell them that they had better in my own case give the price of the drawing as an extra bonus to the engraver and that they must let me see a proof as soon as cut - the thing to be cancelled altogether if not approved of by me. I expect this might partly impress upon them that some care was necessary, and that there was a reputation of some sort in some quarters that I had to take care of. Do you see any objection to my following this plan?[6]

When the Maids of Elfen-Mere block was finally finished eight months later, Rossetti was still unhappy. "I have tried to draw all the shadow in exact lines, to which, if the engraver will only adhere, I fancy it may have a good chance, but hardly otherwise, as there is a good deal of strong shade - dangerous especially to the faces, but I could find no other way."[7] Although it took the engravers three months to finish Rossetti's block, he was nevertheless distraught upon seeing it:

> That wood-block! Dalziel has made such an incredible mull [sic] of it in the cutting that it cannot possibly appear. The fault, however, is no doubt in great measure mine - not of deficient care, for I took the very greatest, but of over-elaboration of parts, perplexing them for the engraver.[8]

In fact, it was Rossetti's use of "wash, pencil coloured chalk, and pen and ink" which must have been difficult and time consuming for the engravers to cut.[9] Rossetti, however, blamed the disappointing results on the fact that the engravers took too much artistic licence. "He [the engraver] has not always followed my lines, but a rather stupid preconceived notion of his about intended 'severity' in the design, which has resulted in an engraving as hard as a nail..."[10] Specifically, Rossetti was dissatisfied with the engravers' inability to cut his lines wide enough. Edward Burne-Jones recalled:

> He couldn't get them to cut his line thick enough. The engravers would always cut it away and fine it off to nothing, thinking, the silly fools, that he couldn't draw and they'd improve it for him and make it delicate - so lost all strength and depth of tone. And then he used to groan. He wanted a nice thick line and there was no room for him to draw it for them thicker than it had to be, as he would have done if there had been. Besides the boxwood was

> hard to get a rich line upon in the method of those days.[11]

Evidently Rossetti felt it was very important to achieve strength in his designs and advised Arthur Hughes, a collaborating illustrator, to do the same. Rossetti recounted to Allingham that he found Hughes designs to be "excellent in many ways; but the blocks I think, especially the one of the man and girl at a stile; rather wanting in force for the engraver. He agreed with me, and I believe will do something to amend this."[12] Years later, when Rossetti was designing a cover for his Poems (1870), he again emphasized that the engravers should cut his lines properly.

> I send you the block. The engraver should facsimile it exactly of course, but take care that he tend rather to thickness than thinness in the lines, as this can be remedied by cutting away if too thick, & the other cannot be set right.[13]

Similarly, in the case of the Moxon Tennyson, Rossetti felt that removing cuttings might achieve his desired effect:

> It would be possible to improve it a good deal, I believe - not by adding shadows, which, though very advisable, would not be practicable; but by cutting out lines, by which means a human character might be partially substituted for the oyster and goldfish cast of features, and other desirable changes effected.[14]

The Dalziel brother's first project with Rossetti was the Music Master. In this instance they defended themselves against Rossetti's criticism by asserting that:

> Rossetti made use of wash, pencil, coloured chalk, and pen and ink, producing a very nice effect, but the engraved reproduction of this many tinted drawing, reduced to the stern

> realities of black and white by printer's ink, failed to satisfy him. Indeed, Rossetti appears to have made up his mind that it would be a failure.[15]

As George Dalziel asked Hughes: "How is one to engrave a drawing that is partly in ink, partly in pencil, and partly in red chalk?"[16] This sort of conflict continued in the case of the Moxon Tennyson. Rossetti wrote to William Bell Scott in February of 1857:

> I have done a few water-colours in my small way lately, and designed five blocks for Tennyson, some of which are still cutting and maiming. It is a thankless task. After a fortnight's work my block goes to the engraver, like Agag, delicately, and is hewn to pieces before the Lord Harry!

He also included a little poem to Scott on the topic:

> Address to the Dalziel Brothers
>
> O woodman, spare that block,
> O gash not anyhow;
> It took ten days by clock,
> I'd fain protect it now.
>
> Chorus, wild laughter from Dalziel's workshop.[17]

The Dalziel brothers seemed to take Rossetti's particular idiosyncrasies in stride and were not unduly concerned by his criticisms. In the spring of 1856 the Dalziel brothers approached Rossetti to participate in Poets of the 19th Century. In a letter to Allingham, Rossetti explained:

> Now something else. Dalziel (very good-naturedly, considering) called here the other day to enlist me for an illustrated selection of Poets which he has been getting up of [sic], it being edited by Revd. Wilmott.[18]

Even though Rossetti told Dalziel that he was too busy to do anything for several months Dalziel "seemed to say that would do."[19] It would appear that although Rossetti complained about the Dalziel brothers to others, he seemed to be happy with the results when he dealt with the Dalziel brothers themselves. The Dalziel brothers' claimed that "Mr. Rossetti expressed himself verbally and by letter as being well pleased with our work." Martin Hardie documented this letter of thanks from Rossetti to the Dalziel brothers in which Rossetti thanked them for two proofs "both of them highly satisfactory and well repaying to all your pains."[20] Burne-Jones recalled that "once or twice he [Rossetti] was pleased with the cutting."[21] William Rossetti tried to explain these conflicting accounts:

> He [Rossetti] probably exasperated Dalziel, and Dalziel certainly exasperated him. Blocks were reworked upon, and proofs sent back with rigour. The publisher Mr. Moxon, was a still severer affliction. He called and he wrote. Rossetti was not always up to time, though he tried his best to be so. In other instances he was up to time, but his engraver was not up to his mark.[22]

Rossetti appears to have been the only Moxon Tennyson artist who experienced difficulties with the engravers, as well as with the publisher. Thomas Woolner's letter to Mrs. Tennyson in December of 1856 acknowledged that Moxon was "in high glee that the illustrations were being completed so quickly, his only complaint was of G. Rossetti."[23] Rossetti tended to avoid Moxon when his illustrations were late, as William Rossetti pointed out:

> Moxon used to write or call frequently, and considered himself aggrieved because the blocks, when he expected or required to have them

> ready, were still incompleted. He suffered much worry and disappointment.[24]

When Rossetti was frustrated, he tended to blame his slow progress on the poor selection of poems available for good illustrations. However, given that Rossetti had been one of the first artists contacted, he had at his disposal a better selection of poems than most of the other artists. At points, he was forced to acknowledge this:

> I have been asked by Moxon to do some [illustrations] for the Tennyson, and said I would, but don't know whether I shall, as all the most practicable subjects have been given away already -- my own fault, however, as I had been asked to choose long ago.[25]

Hughes, however, saw the problem from a different perspective. Hughes was working in a studio with Rossetti at the time and felt that Rossetti was "neither remiss nor lazy, rather that he asked so much of the tiny squares of wood that no amount of labour could realize the design he imaged."[26] This can clearly be seen in Rossetti's designs where each corner is filled with detail, creating a very crowded effect. Burne-Jones recalled that Rossetti fell into a rage when his St. Cecilia block was cut a sixteenth of an inch too short. When asked why he was so concerned over such a small difference, Rossetti responded, "Good God! What do you mean by that? I could get a whole city in there."[27] Every detail was of great importance to Rossetti who begged Ford Madox-Brown to check on his St. Cecilia block and "impress on him [Dalziel] that none of the work is to be left out."[28]

The St. Cecilia block was cut and a proof sent to Rossetti. He immediately became distraught as, apparently, the engravers did not follow his instructions:

> I took more pains with one block lately than I had with anything for a long while. It came back to me on paper the other day, with Dalziel performing his cannibal jig in the corner, and I have really felt like an invalid ever since.[29]

This block has been the centre of much discussion. The controversy surrounds the way in which the angel is "kissing" St. Cecilia. In the final image, the angel appears to be biting St. Cecilia's head (figure 1). Fortunately, Rossetti had an amateur photographer take a photograph of his St. Cecilia block before it went to the engraver (figure 7).[30] He mentioned this photograph to Allingham in late 1856.

> I'll certainly claim your photograph. I enclose you one in return from one of my blocks - St. Cecily (Palace of Art). It is a horrid bad photograph; but as D[alziel] has had the settling of the thing since, it becomes of some interest.[31]

There are similar photographs for Rossetti's The Death of Arthur and Mariana in the South blocks (figures 8 & 9). These three photographs were reproduced in the Freemantle & Co. edition of Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson. Comparing the St. Cecilia photograph with the wood engraving we find that Rossetti's angel is not kissing St. Cecilia but merely looking down at her, perhaps about to kiss her. Rossetti also made a pen and brown ink design for St. Cecilia in which the angel is again, merely looking down at St. Cecilia (figure 10).[32] These works indicate that Rossetti's dissatisfaction was justified. However, there is a further sketch which complicates this issue. Rossetti drew another pen and ink sketch of the angel and St. Cecilia during the same period (1856-7) where the figures bear a remarkable similarity to the final engraving (figure 11). In this sketch, the angel is kissing St. Cecilia firmly on the forehead, although the gown is drawn quite differently.

The sketch is a reverse image, similar to the one which would have been drawn directly onto the block. It is therefore possible that Rossetti, after having taken a photograph of the initial drawing on wood, decided to change the image and submitted this altered sketch to the engravers. Hunt explained how the engravers were able to revise the blocks:

> I did not have photographs taken of all my completed drawings before they were cut. Those from "The Lady of Shalott," "Lady Godiva," and "Oriana" I still possess; comparison of these with the impressions in the book more than accounts for the disappointment I felt when at first I saw my designs in Moxon's volume. A certain wirelike character in all the lines was to me, as to all artists with like experience, eminently disenchanting. Undoubtedly each block had been cut with care and skill, but in a few cases I had to have parts removed, and drew details over again on the newly inserted wood. Over those drawings of which no photographs were made, I had less power of correction.[33]

Of the drawings by Hunt mentioned above, Dalziel engraved The Ballad of Oriana and Godiva. In the photograph that Hunt took of his The Lady of Shalott (figure 12), it is apparent that he provided a design which was easier for the engravers to interpret than Rossetti's designs.[34] Rossetti's photographs indicate a substantial use of washes and shading.

Moxon evidently trusted Dalziel to engrave the better Pre-Raphaelite drawings. Two of Rossetti's designs (Sir Galahad and Mariana in the South) went to W.J. Linton, who also engraved many of the academic artists' work, as did J. Thompson. Rossetti, who was working with Linton for the first time in 1857, said that he was "convinced he is a long way the best engraver living, now that old Thomson is nearly out of the field."[35] However, he wrote to Madox-Brown that "Linton has sent me a proof of Sir Galahad, fine in many respects, but the angels as black as

D____l's - I don't mean Dalziel's brothers. I hope though it can be set right."[36] Nevertheless, apparently Rossetti felt that Linton was best able to translate his designs. Even years later, while working on a different project, he referred to Linton's ability to reproduce his bold thick lines:

> I said the engraver should be careful to keep all lines rather tending to thicker than thinner, to allow of cutting away for alterations. Now he has cut the curls of the diaper forming the background rather too thin. I believe however that by some means - I suppose burnishing them hard, so as to spread them out slightly - this could still be remedied a little & I should think sufficiently. It seems to me that something of the sort has been done for me before by Linton when he has cut blocks [for the Moxon Tennyson] for me.[37]

Millais and Hunt had completed their designs by October of 1856 in time for the projected Christmas publication date. Woolner's plate for the medallion of Tennyson was also completed. Rossetti, however, had just finished The Death of Arthur, his fourth block, in December and had just started on St. Cecilia. At this time Madox-Brown noted that Rossetti was "working or not working at his drawing on wood for St. Cecilia."[38] He finally completed all of the blocks in February.

Rossetti's reworking of images indicates that, like the other Pre-Raphaelites, he too strove for perfection.[39] However, given that the translation from sketch to engraving was a less than perfect technique for conveying his intentions, Rossetti's disappointment was not surprising.[40] As stated earlier, Rossetti was not well versed in the procedure of engraving. Dalziel wrote that the Maids of Elfen-Mere was a "remarkable example of the artist being altogether unacquainted with the necessary requirements in making a drawing for the engraver's purpose."[41]

For instance, in the drawing for the Music Master Rossetti felt it necessary to get his friend, J.R. Clayton, to judge his work. He mentioned this in a letter to Allingham written in March of 1855:

> Before I sent in my drawing, however, to the engraver, I consulted a friend - Clayton, who has drawn much on wood - as to whether it were done in the right way for cutting, and he assured me it was not only adaptable but remarkably so; certainly I kept every line as distinct as I could: and on this account Clayton was of the opinion that it was very much more the thing for the purpose than the drawings made by Hughes, which, however, turns out a complete mistake, as Hughes's drawings, also cut by Dalziel, have come, with one exception, quite remarkably well. Three or four of them are most beautiful designs, and will be worthy of your book.[42]

Although Rossetti was very unhappy with the Maids of Elfen-Mere, Allingham convinced him to include it, or "salvage it," in Rossetti's words. Again Rossetti sought advice from his friends:

> On getting your letter I marked parts of the proof with white, and find something might probably be done. But first I should like to show the whitened proof to one or two friends, and take their opinion as to whether, even if the changes were properly made, the thing could possibly be allowed to come out.[43]

A proof of the Maids of Elfen-Mere at the Victoria and Albert Museum documents this. Rossetti wrote to Allingham saying:

> ...I had been over the proof with white, to get Dalziel to alter parts of it. I have since given it him to do so, and have seen it in part done. Well! I have supped full with horrors, served (out) in three courses...[44]

Similarly, Rossetti found the use of whitening to be a useful method in the reworking the Moxon designs. They too initially came out with too much shading, most likely because, in addition to refusing Rossetti the thick lines he wanted, the engravers attempted to interpret Rossetti's wash and chalk sketches literally.

Examples from the Dalziel collection of proofs from the British Museum indicate a similar pattern of revision in all of Rossetti's Tennyson designs. In the St. Cecilia proof (figure 13) we find that St. Cecilia's lips are entirely shaded and strongly engraved lines define her neck. In the final print her bottom lip has been whitened entirely and the shading removed from around the neck. St. Cecilia's bodice has also been lightened in a proof at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the final engraving. In The Death of Arthur we again find that the British Museum proof (figure 14) contains a considerably greater amount of shading than the final image. The proof indicates that the engraved hatching around the chin of the second queen on the far right has been lightened. The second, third and sixth queens from the left all have a greater amount of shading on their faces in the proof than in the published print. The Lady of Shalott required the greatest amount of reworking. Her face is entirely shaded in the British Museum proof (figure 15) but we find that this was to be altered. The right side of her face and neck has been whitened to create a strong highlight and contouring. We also find that the two men at the top, the swans, the flame, the boat and the cloak have all been lightened dramatically. The British Museum proofs do not contain India white but a proof of The Lady of Shalott from the Victoria and Albert Museum does (figure 16). In this proof the changes are concentrated on the area under the chin. This area has been lightened substantially and India white is found on the perimeter of proof. Sir Galahad had also been reworked according to

Rossetti's comments such as: "The eye needs a dot of light in it and the further eyelid a light to mark it. Cut away within the two first knuckles of the lifted hand and with the knuckles of the forefinger on the other hand."[45]

Thus, the problems between Rossetti and the Dalziel brothers were genuine and resulted in many delays. Rossetti was dissatisfied with the final designs as were the reviewers. St. Cecilia was the block that caused Rossetti the greatest distress and was the illustration which the reviewers felt was the most poorly rendered. By examining the reviews, it is evident that Rossetti's desire to perfect his images visually would not have been enough to please the reviewers, as they were also critical of the content of the illustrations.

NOTES

[1]Jerome J. McGann documents a number of difficulties between Rossetti and his patrons concluding that Rossetti's "cynical attitude toward his various patrons was matched only by his scandalous failure to meet obligations even after he had been paid." Jerome J. McGann, Towards a Literature of Knowledge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989):76.

[2]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 2nd May 1854. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, ed. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965):I, 189. Hereafter cited Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

[3]Arthur Hughes as cited in Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975, reprint of 1928):30.

[4]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 15 October 1854. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 226.

[5]Hughes cited in Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties, p. 31.

[6]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, November 1854. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 230.

[7]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 23 January 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 238.

[8]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 17th March 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 243.

[9]George and Edward Dalziel, The Brothers Dalziel, A Record of Fifty Years' Work, 1840-1890 (London: Methuen, 1901):86.

[10]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 17 March 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 244.

[11]Burne-Jones cited in Edward Burne-Jones, Burne-Jones Talking, ed. Mary Lago (Missouri, University of Missouri Press, 1981):79.

[12]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 19th September 1854. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 222.

[13]Letter from Rossetti to F.S. Ellis, February 15, 1870. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to His Publisher, F.S. Ellis, ed. Oswald Doughty (London: The Scholartis Press, 1928):7.

[14]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 21 March 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 246.

[15]Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties, p. 32.

[16]Dalziel to Hughes. See Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of D. G. Rossetti to W. Allingham, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (London, T. Fisher

Unwin,1897):112.

[17]Letter from Rossetti to Scott, February, 1857. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 318.

[18]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 6 March 1856. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 292.

[19]It was common for the engraving companies to produce a book from start to finish and then "sell" the book to a publishing house who would print it under their label. Dalziel did this often.

[20]Martin Hardie, "The Moxon Tennyson: 1857," Book-Lover's Magazine 7 (1907):47.

[21]Burne-Jones in Burne-Jones Talking, p. 78.

[22]William Rossetti as cited in George Layard, Tennyson and His Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators: A Book About a Book (London: Elliot Stock, 1894):50.

[23]Letter from Woolner to Mrs. Tennyson, December 1856. Amy Woolner, Thomas Woolner, R.A.: His Life in Letters (London: Chapman and Hall, 1917):108.

[24]George Layard, Tennyson and His Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators, p. 50.

[25]Rossetti to Scott, January 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 236.

[26]Albert B. Friedman, "The Tennyson of 1857," More Books (January 1948):16.

[27]Georgiana Burne-Jones, Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones (London: Macmillan & Co. 1904):I, 157.

[28]Letter from Rossetti to Madox Brown, 10 December 1856. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 307.

[29]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 18 December 1856, as cited in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham, p. 191. Rossetti's reference to Dalziel's cannibal jig refers to Dalziel's uneven signature at the bottom of the engraving.

[30]These photographs were displayed at the Pre-Raphaelite Exhibition at Russell Place, July 1857. William Michael Rossetti, Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism Papers 1854-1862 (New York: AMS Press, 1971):171. Peggy Fogelman mentions the St. Cecilia photograph in "The Moxon Tennyson and Pre-Raphaelite Illustration," Ladies of Shalott: A Victorian Masterpiece and Its Contexts (Bell Gallery, Brown University, 1985):18.

[31]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, late 1856. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 315.

[32]Cecilia, Pen and Brown Ink, 1856-7. Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery. Virginia Surtees, The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), plate 108.

[33]Holman Hunt in the introduction of Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901):xxiii.

[34]Hunt's The Lady of Shalott was engraved by J. Thompson; however, the photograph for Hunt's The Ballad of Oriana indicates that the design was very similar to his Lady of Shalott, with little shading evident.

[35]Letter from Rossetti to Scott, February 1857. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 319.

[36]Letter from Rossetti to Madox Brown, 1856. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 315.

[37]Rossetti to Ellis, February 21, 1870. The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to His Publisher F. S. Ellis, p. 8. When dealing with Ellis in 1870 Rossetti remarked that he felt "Swain is the best man (engraver)...I believe he would give it his best attention". Letter from Rossetti to Ellis, February 15, 1870, p. 7.

[38]George Birkbeck Hill, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham: 1854-1870, p. 208.

[39]When Rossetti published his Poems (1870) he revised three sets of proofs and two trials books. He undertook massive changes involving the poems, the titles and the physical look of the book in his effort to produce a "perfect" volume. Jerome J. McGann, Towards a Literature of Knowledge, p. 79.

[40]Publishers, at this time, favoured the method of wood engraving for illustrating because the text and image were both in relief and could be combined and printed in one step. This was more cost effective than lithography which required two printings.

[41]As cited in Elisabeth Cary, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti,Illustrator," Print Collector's Quarterly (October, 1915):323.

[42]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 17 March 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 244.

[43]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 21 March 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 246.

[44]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 11 May 1855. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham 1854 - 1870, p. 122.

[45]Marcia Allentuck, "New Light on Rossetti and the Moxon Tennyson," Apollo (February 1973):176. Artist's proof of Sir Galahad by W. J. Linton. Lilly Library, Indiana, U.S.A. If we compare the Moxon Tennyson engravings with Rossetti's illustration Buy From Us With a Golden Curl for Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market" we find that Rossetti's thick lines have been communicated by his engraver. In this case, the engraver

was Charles Joseph Faulkner of the firm Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company. This engraving was produced in 1862 an is one of the few woodcut illustrations Rossetti designed after his experience with the Moxon Tennyson.

Chapter Three: The Reviews

There are five reviews of the Moxon Tennyson in various weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies. The Westminster Review, the Saturday Review and the Art Journal gave extensive space to their reviews of the Moxon Tennyson, while the Athenaeum and Bibliothèque universelle gave only short descriptive paragraphs. Although the reviews are not signed, we can safely identify the author of the Westminster Review as George Meredith since there are receipts of payment from his editor. In the reviews, the critics primarily directed their attention towards the Pre-Raphaelites whose work was being avidly discussed in the artistic community. The reviews did not specifically focus on the reintroduction of Tennyson's earlier works as Moxon might have hoped.[1] His early poetry was accepted without criticism, probably because he had subsequently assumed the position of Poet Laureate.

Instead, the reviews centred on the illustrations. The fact that so much attention was paid to such a common form of "coffee-table" book has to be attributed to the controversial reputation of the Pre-Raphaelites, as well as Tennyson's pre-eminent standing in the community. Hundreds of illustrated editions of poetry, fiction, and travel books were constantly being published to satisfy a widespread interest in illustration during this period. Indeed, the desire for information seemed insatiable. Perhaps not surprisingly, over 25,000 journals of various kinds (including newspapers) covered a wide range of subjects including literature, art, politics, science, economics and religion. Those who saw themselves as important (mostly the middle and upper classes) felt the need to form opinions on almost every subject or current trend, ranging from The Oxford Movement to theories of

evolution.[2] As Walter Houghton observed: "Educated and would-be-educated alike wanted accounts of new or rapidly developing subjects like geology, political economy, biblical criticism, anthropology and sociology."[3] Christian orthodoxy was being questioned, as was the oligarchical structure of the monarchy. Each social circle and political party had a periodical which catered to their tastes. Fraser's Magazine and the Belgravia were directed towards the more "fashionable" crowd, while Blackwood's Magazine, the Edinburgh Review, the Westminster Gazette and the Fortnightly Review were published for the scholarly intellectual circles.[4] The Quarterly Review, the Edinburgh Review and the Westminster Review were the main organs for the Tories, the Whigs and the Radicals (democrats) respectively. Within these reviews, most of the essays did not reveal the identity of their authors. Articles were unsigned, anonymous or else signed with a pseudonym. Prior to 1870, only about one per cent of articles were signed.[5] The reason for this was that while most periodicals were organs for a specific political or social group, they wanted to appear objective. Editors also wished to create an even tone to their publications and felt that anonymous articles helped to achieve this goal. Furthermore, because the reviewer was often familiar with the person whose ideas, or whose book she/he was criticizing, anonymity was considered an asset in terms of allowing the reviewer to be more critical and "unbiased."[6] This was not very practical in real terms as most periodical writers were part of a close-knit literary circle. For the most part, the reviewers of art were literary men who often felt that subject matter was more important than composition or execution.

While art reviews were read in both the fashionable and intellectual circles, they perhaps exerted the greatest influence upon the upper middle classes. Certainly members of the new middle classes, who sought

prestige through art purchases, looked to periodicals for guidance in exercising matters of taste.[7] Considering the vast number of books being published, if a work was mentioned in two or more periodicals it was considered significant.[8] Through the vehicle of reviews, the press had the ability to enhance or destroy careers, despite the fact that good reviews did not always ensure literary or artistic success. For instance, Rossetti's The Early Italian Poets (1861) was reviewed favourably in 1862 by the Spectator, the Westminster Review, the Athenaeum and Fraser's Magazine but nevertheless still had unimpressive sales.

Much time was spent by various art critics discussing the exhibitions and composition of the Royal Academy. The Saturday Review, Art Journal and Athenaeum all felt the political corruption of the Royal Academy undermined the creation of a viable British school of art. Responding to works exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1850, the Athenaeum stated that "mediocrity extends over almost every variety of subject, platitudes of conception, vulgarity in treatment, and lowness of aim make the rule."[9] With over 1500 works being hung at each exhibition, the best hanging locations went to those forty members elected to the Academy. Prior to membership, an artist had to first be elected to one of only twenty associate positions. While artists had the option of exhibiting elsewhere, and the periodicals did review other exhibition venues, these alternate sites were considered less prestigious. In turning to alternative venues, the artists also tended to forfeit their chances of being elected to the Royal Academy.[10] The Saturday Review responded to the problem in 1863:

> The more good men are excluded from the Royal Academy the less does the slur of exclusion become, and the more valueless does the dignity itself appear.[11]

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Westminster Review was the most positive toward the Pre-Raphaelites. The review was written by Meredith and the magazine was edited by John Chapman. Targeted for a liberal and progressive audience, the review supported the Pre-Raphaelite movement as a challenge to tiresome academic styles. Furthermore, it defended them against the public's "inability" to understand their aim: "That they have not satisfied the public is less a fault of theirs than a proof of the difficulty of the undertaking."[12]

Chapman bought the Westminster Review in 1852 and directed the periodical in "favour of moral, religious, political, and social progress."[13] His aim was to make "the review thoroughly liberal on all questions."[14] The Westminster Review , originally created in 1824 by the utilitarian philosopher James Mill, was nourished by the growth of a third political party in England.[15] Many talented and eminent authors contributed to the periodical including Francis W. Newman (politics and religion), W.R. Grey (social reform), Herbert Spencer (philosophy), J.A. Froude (history), G.H. Lewes and W. B. Donne (literature).[16] At one point the assistant editor was Marian Evans, who later became a famous novelist under the pseudonym George Eliot. The periodical was well organized and covered a wide range of topics including theology, philosophy, politics, sociology, travel, science, history, biographies, and the arts. Books were reviewed with "a thoroughness unmatched by other reviews."[17]

Meredith was hired to write the "**Belles Lettres**" section of the Westminster Review from April of 1857 to January of 1858. Receipts for payments from Meredith to Chapman for £12, 12s for April and October note that the monies were "payment for an Article forming Section 4 of the Contemporary Literature published in the Westminster Review for April 1857," and "October of 1857."[18] Though there are no receipts for July of

1857 or January of 1858, the style still resembles that of Meredith and only changes (quite dramatically) after the latter date. Prior to Meredith, this section had been written by George Eliot who reviewed books from July of 1855 to January of 1857. Meredith had control over which books were reviewed and included his own novel Farina (1857). Farina was reviewed by Eliot at Meredith's request, and strategically placed between books that he reviewed. Not surprisingly, given their friendship, the review of Farina was very positive but still critical enough that Eliot did not feel compromised.[19] This sort of review was a typical product of anonymous reviewing practices. The Westminster's reviews of contemporary art began in April of 1856 when Eliot reviewed Volume III of John Ruskin's Modern Painters. Meredith followed Eliot's lead with a review of Edward Young's Pre-Raffaellitism in which he defended the movement by asserting:

> The greatest idealists sprang from a school of hard realism. To imitate them is to paint on air without the brush of light. Realism, then, is the only basis of art. Its sins are naturally the reverse to those of idealism. The latter demands mastery; the former taste. Lacking taste, the artist falls into the foulness of an Oreagna; and not possessing mastery, he is hopelessly lost in the puerilities of the Raphaelites. We believe that pre-Raphallitism will lead to a good and great English School of Art, and that it is our sole chance.[20]

Meredith's association with the Pre-Raphaelites came through their mutual friendship with the painter, Henry Wallis. Meredith continued his support of the Pre-Raphaelites despite Wallis's liaison with Meredith's wife which ultimately caused the breakup of his marriage in 1857. Meredith even defended Wallis's work in response to Ruskin's critical notes on the Royal Academy saying that Wallis's work was "masterly in

conception and execution."[21] During this period of marital upheaval, Meredith was particularly critical of the way women were represented in literature and the visual arts. For instance, when reviewing the Moxon Tennyson, Meredith complained about Millais's depiction of Cleopatra's dark skin. A large portion of his review centred on this concern.

Meredith was also critical of female writers. In July of 1857, Meredith reviewed a novel, The Roua Pass, by Erick MacKenzie. Meredith noted that:

> the prominent male characters are undeniably women's men, that is, they are a woman's idea of what men are, mixed up with certain salient manly characteristics, which may have been conceived from observation, and are possible to us.[22]

Despite this concern Meredith recommended the book as "a good novel - the best of the season."[23] In October of 1857, Meredith also reviewed Ruskin's Elements of Drawing and gave it a good review even praising the "eloquence of the writing."[24]

It should be noted that Meredith's appraisal of the Moxon Tennyson was consistent with his views about the Pre-Raphaelite movement and his support for Tennyson. Meredith opened his review directly with "As far as it was in art to illustrate a poet so exquisitely pictorial as Tennyson, the three chiefs of the Pre-Raphaelites have succeeded." Meredith liked Tennyson's poetry and was the only critic who discussed the early works of Tennyson in the Moxon edition. Meredith observed that the "singularity of his [Tennyson's] genius, is that he never draws a picture without dipping it in a thought, or suffusing it with a profound sensation." After citing a number of relevant examples, Meredith noted: "That they [the Pre-Raphaelites] have not satisfied the public is less a fault of theirs than a proof of the difficulty of the undertaking."[25]

This comment indicates that Meredith, himself a writer and member of the artistic community, was aware that the general public disliked the Pre-Raphaelites' illustrations. Claiming to speak as "one of the public," he stated that "the wonder is that Messrs. Millais, Hunt and Rossetti have not failed more signally, and shocked our prejudiced views altogether."

Meredith evidently doubted that academic artists could illustrate someone as profound as Tennyson and decided that it was best to considered their work "charming, apart from any relation to the poetry." Hunt's two Oriana drawings were "the best of the illustrations," being "very noble, and worthy of Tennyson." He described Rossetti's drawings as "intensely medieval and mythic." He acknowledged that the public may have found Rossetti hard to understand when he commented that "this artist has the sense of beauty so deeply seated, that we admire even when we do not always understand him."[26] He continued:

> Rossetti improves on Tennyson too much; but if we forget the poetry his drawings affect to illustrate, and take them for what they are, we shall find that each one is a poem in itself, and despite the quaintness and excessive richness, a poem that we may cherish and enjoy, or we are beneath the artist's level. The fervid devotion of "Mariana in the South", kissing the Saviour's feet, and the ecstasy of the rapt St. Cecilia under the Angel's salute, are due to a man of genius who may be too much given to symbolic elaboration, but who comprehends beauty with his whole soul, and can represent the highest and the noblest forms of grace. True feminine visages are the key-notes to the pictures, and if we fix our attention on them, we shall no longer feel offended by the pedantic fullness of detail. And yet we hardly like to object to that which furnishes so wonderful a medieval study.[27]

Millais, however, was given a mixed review, perhaps because of his

membership in the Academy, a body which Meredith disliked. Those illustrations by Millais which were more "Pre-Raphaelite," such as Sisters, were described as "finely imaginative." In contrast, he felt that Millais' more academic illustrations, such as the Miller's Daughter, were "miserable" and "as poor as Horsley."[28] As mentioned earlier, Millais was criticized harshly by Meredith for portraying Cleopatra with dark skin. Even worse than Millais, according to Meredith, were Stanfield and Creswick who were not up to standard though "pretty." Concluding with the comment that "on the whole, it is a good gift-book for those who love pictures - even for those who love the poet," Meredith hoped to quell concerns about the disunity of the book and profess support for the Pre-Raphaelite movement.[29]

The Saturday Review was not as positive about the Pre-Raphaelites. Authorship of the review is unknown but by and large the weekly paper tended to be more critical in tone, and held a more conservative political stance. The Saturday Review held a unique position in its desire to establish a weekly periodical which would provide a detailed analysis of creative works.[30] It questioned the mundaneness of art in the 1850s, and was critical of any works which were seen as mannered or "affected."[31] The Saturday Review felt its goal in criticism was not merely to assess the flaws in works, but also to encourage artists with praise.[32] Founded in 1855 by A.J. Beresford Hope, the aim of the periodical was to provide a weekly newspaper of literature, opinion, science and the arts which was "not bound to any party but written by a combination of Pellite Conservatives and Moderate Liberals, and to be the mouthpiece of the middle moderate opinions of thoughtful and educated society."[33] At 5d the Saturday Review was priced to compete with the Athenaeum (4d), and the Sunday Times (5d), and was cheaper than the Spectator (8d). The staff was basically composed of Oxford and Cambridge

graduates who discussed not only current news events, but also criticized literary and artistic works.[34] This new format soon found a quick foothold and set the standard for other periodicals such as the Athenaeum.[35] Although the Saturday Review claimed to be apolitical, it did have definite positions on many social issues. It favoured "prudent" social reform, free trade and voluntary education. It was against socialism, the labour union movement and the women's suffrage movement.[36] While it accepted Tennyson as the chief poet of the times, it was critical of Ruskin's "socialist" criticism of English society. George Saintsbury noted that "the Saturday Review quickly attained, and for many years held, the very highest place in English critical journalism..."[37] Despite this achievement, its overly harsh tone earned it a variety of nicknames including "The Saturday Snarler," "The Saturday Scorpion" and "The Saturday Reviler."[38]

On the topic of art, the Saturday Review was vocal about the quality of art and condemned the creation of artistic commodities as opposed to individual works of creativity. "Pictures are now but a portion of domestic furniture" it complained in 1857.[39] Five years later it was still complaining: "Why not sell them [paintings], not as works of art, but as 'furniture pieces' and 'manufactured goods'?"[40] However, in 1857, the periodical was also critical of Ruskin's influence on Millais, who, up until this date, had been well received.

> Mr. Ruskin and the silly people who ape his fiery fanaticism with their own dull cant will have something to answer for in hardening this great painter's originality into affectation, his sense of power into frigid conceit and his boldness into insolence.[41]

Although the Saturday Review usually engaged in anonymous reviewing, we know that Coventry Patmore was responsible for writing a

number of positive reviews of Rossetti. In July of 1857 he wrote favourably about Rossetti's drawing at the Fitzroy Exhibition and in December of that same year he supported the Oxford Mural project.[42] It was also Patmore who had written one of the Pre-Raphaelites' first good reviews in 1850 in the Guardian when other periodicals such as the Athenaeum, the Illustrated London News, the Spectator and Blackwood's were very critical.

The Saturday Review did not favour the illustration of Tennyson's poems:

> For ourselves, we are bound to confess that we hold illustrations of poems to be, if not a mockery, a least a superfluity. Every reader of poetry is, or ought to be, his own best illustrator. The effect wrought upon our own imagination by the beauty and fitness of the poet's words is what constitutes the chief charm of reading verse - not the explanation of the effect wrought upon the imagination of another, and presented to us through a different medium. It is a difficult task to write a successful sonnet on a picture; but to paint an interesting picture after the words of a sonnet is a more difficult, if not a more ungrateful, problem still. To bind the sonnet and the picture in indissoluble matrimony or Siamese twinship together, as is done in all illustrated editions, is to our mind as questionable in taste as painting a statue, or preferring to read by the help of a translation.[43]

The reviewer also asked if it was necessary to produce an elaborate edition when the public was so used to seeing Tennyson's poems in a simple format.

> Our intimacy with a book is equally dependent on its physiognomy maintaining the old familiar type. We have carried Tennyson in duodecimo in our hand or our portmanteau for

> year after year. We have learnt him by heart, by the eye, as much as by the ear - the size of page and print, and the position of each line and each thought upon the page, has been lastingly impressed upon the retina of our memory. An now, when in a gorgeous regeneration he bursts out in the royallest of octavos with a sumptuous satin margin to set off the print, and a fringe of pictorial illustrations to accompany the words, we are at a loss what to think and what to say - equally dazzled at the alternation in his personal appearance, and doubtful how far it is a justifiable matter for congratulation.

Perhaps the reviewer felt that there were simply too many new and conflicting elements. The reintroduction of Tennyson's lesser known (albeit reworked) poems in a new format, and a variety of illustrations by different artists, resulted in a book which was too unfamiliar. The reviewer thus suggested that the book be regarded, not as an edition of Tennyson, but rather as just an illustrated edition of poetry.

> As long, however, as there are drawing room tables to be laden with ornamental books - as long as there are persons to give presents, and persons to receive them - so long may we assume that the supply of such works will be regulated in accordance with the demand, and that the works themselves will form in turn a large material for eulogy from such enthusiastic admirers, and jealous inquiry from such colder critics, as may chance to stand round the tables aforesaid. Since it is so, let us, under protest, endeavour to see whether the volume in question is good of its kind.

According to the Saturday Review, unity was missing from the Moxon Tennyson. "The book might have lost in variety, but it would have gained in unity of character."[44] The reviewer compared it to an Academy

Exhibition: "It would have been good, bad, or indifferent...It is now, like an Academy Exhibition, at once neither, and all three." The Saturday Review found the artist's selection of illustrations problematic.

> The artists, of whose sketches the volume is a compilation, have not worked in combination, or with any visible common aim; and some of them have done more to illustrate their own particular style than the ideas of the poet.

The reviewer was equally concerned that some poems contained two illustrations while others lacked any illustrative accompaniment at all.

> Were there, again, so few subjects to be found upon which the fancy of Maclise and Rossetti could adequately expatiate that they must treat us to two wounded Arthurs, wept over by two sets of Queens?

Horsley was again a disappointment, in this case for providing nondescript, generic images. In discussing Horsley the reviewer again reiterated his views on illustration:

> Surely, if we must have pictorial accompaniments to verse, their aim should be to seize and expand a thought darkly shadowed, to draw out into lifelike detail the imaginative hint conveyed in a few touches - not to labour out a literal translation, or copy into light and shade, of a picture already painted in words as intensely, as clearly, and as fully, as the English language allows. Mr. Horsley appears to us, in almost every instance, not only to have laboured at the wrong thing, but to have laboured in vain.

While Stanfield was praised for the "innate beauty" of his drawings, the Pre-Raphaelites were commended for being artists who "have thought

earnestly both what they should draw in illustration of the poet, and how it should best be drawn." Though the reviewer did not feel that the Pre-Raphaelites succeeded in each case, he acknowledged their effort. Hunt and Millais were considered the "prominent figures" of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Rossetti was considered as the most incomprehensible:

> But to assert that, after any study, we can understand Rossetti, would be an hypocrisy beyond the homage which human intelligence may justifiably pay to pictorial incomprehensibility.[45]

Millais's "St. Agnes" was "pure and calm" and "most perfect and natural simplicity." His "Sisters" was decidedly good because of its relation to the poem:

> Another turret of Millais' drawing ("the Sisters") is equally expressive in its simplicity. Stern, square, hard, and black, it stands out against the sky. A streak of cloud blurs the face of the moon, while the tree-tops are all carried one way, not by a fitful gust, but by a steady, remorseless wind - such is the portal to the scene of the sister's revenge upon the deceiving and deceived Earl. The poem is marked with one sentiment only- the resistless tide of self-concentrated hatred which would turn aside for no obstacle, and regard no consequence...The refrain - "The wind is howling in turret and tree" - is strongly emblematic of this sentiment, and the drawing renders the refrain into form not only in its literal meaning, but in all its latent imagination.

While "Edward Grey," "Dora," and "Locksley Hall" were all acceptable to the reviewer, Millais's Cleopatra was criticized for being "more like a wild beast than a fair woman of whom one would readily dream."

Completing the Pre-Raphaelite critique with Hunt, the Saturday Review

appreciated the power of the illustration in spite of the fact that the web in The Lady of Shalott seemed curiously rendered:

> We wish Holman Hunt had contributed more to the volume, although we are not invariably satisfied with what he had contributed. His Lady of Shalott is a fine weird figure of an elfin queen; and the expression of her face is not without power; but the web in which she is caught and from which she is vainly struggling to free herself is not the web of Tennyson's weaving. "Out flew the web, and floated wide," does not imply the winding a web of material packthread like a lasso round the form of the hapless lady. A painter may expatiate in symbolisms as much as he pleases in his own pictures; but where he charges himself with interpreting the thought of the poet, he has no claim to such license.

Hunt's best piece was considered to be the second illustration of "Oriana" illustrating the line, "pale, pale face, so sweet and meek." This was the reviewer's favourite ballad and illustration in the Moxon Tennyson.

The Saturda, Review would have liked to have seen an illustration to "Vision of Sin" which Rossetti had considered undertaking if time had permitted. The reviewer concluded that "we are steadfast to our first impression, notwithstanding the praise which here and there we have been glad to bestow." The final, disparaging conclusion was that "We like the poems better without the illustration."[46]

The Art Journal also had a difficult time deciding how it felt about the Pre-Raphaelite contributions. Though it did not support the writings of Ruskin, it had favourably reviewed Rossetti's The Girlhood of the Virgin in 1849 at the Free Exhibition and also felt the Germ had potential. Like the Saturday Review, the Art Journal tried to inspire artists to avoid mediocrity. It reviewed alternate exhibition venues

such as the British Institution Exhibitions and the Free Exhibitions; however, it took pride in being the only periodical to provide detailed descriptions of the Royal Academy Exhibitions, and at times it devoted more than eighteen pages to such reviews.[47]

Although the Art Journal was the most expensive art periodical in Britain, at 2s, 6d, it appealed to a large audience ranging from the fashionable to the intellectual sections of the middle class. It voiced its aim as recording the progress of the fine arts, industrial arts, and art and design in manufacturing. In 1857, its topical articles included a review of the Manchester Art Exhibition, an illustrated tour of the Thames, "British Artists: Their Style and Character," and essays on the Crystal Palace and Royal Collection. Between 1849 and 1912 the Art Journal was edited by Marcus Huish. He, like Chapman and Hope, also favoured unsigned reviews.

The Art Journal review acknowledged that the Moxon Tennyson was "a very beautiful volume" and accepted its format given that illustrated editions were "the fashion of the day."[48] The reviewer found Tennyson's style of poetry "imaginative and highly coloured, but frequently open to the charge of affectation" which was "in some degree, a justifiable reason for enlisting the services of the Pre-Raffaellite school of artists in the work of illustration." However, the reviewer questioned their contribution: "We are much inclined to doubt whether their aid will be generally considered to have given much additional value to the volume." This charge was an extension of the Art Journal's view of illustration.

> The quaintness of thought and expression that is found in the verse, needed not necessarily to be followed by quaintness of pictorial design. The artist may work harmoniously with the poet without any participation in the

> peculiarities of the latter, when these peculiarities have a constrained or affected tendency; he must work from, as well as up to, his model; but then we look for his own ideas of the subject before him, expressed in the true language of pictorial art, and not in that of any particular school or creed.

The Art Journal reviewed the academic artists first and afforded them a great deal of praise: Mulready's images were "rich in poetical imagery"; Maclise's "Morte d'Arthur" illustrations were "exceedingly beautiful compositions"; Stanfield's works were "picturesque and truthful"; Creswick's landscapes were "worthy of his great reputation"; and even Horsley was praised for his "The May Queen" which was "characterized by taste and delicacy of feeling."

Somewhat ominously, the Art Journal then announced it was moving on to the Pre-Raffaelite school of artists. The reviewer found that Millais was surprisingly acceptable given that the majority of his works

> show far less of the peculiarities of the artist than might be expected from his constancy to his adopted style; and among them are a few to which no one, we imagine, would take objection, and which are fine in conception and feeling, and by no means deficient in pictorial beauty...

Hunt too had fewer "Pre-Raphaelite" tendencies than the reviewer expected:

> Holman Hunt has furnished seven subjects for the volume: the most graceful and poetical is the Mussulman sailing down the Tigris, one of two designs illustrating the "Recollections of the Arabian Nights"; the frontispiece to "The Lady of Shalott" is a strange fancy that none but an artist of genius could have invented, but the lady is not drawn after the Pre-Raffaellite fashion.

Rossetti was the last to be mentioned and the only illustrator singled out for harsh criticism:

> Five subjects are from the pencil of Rossetti; with the exception of "Sir Galahad," a vigorous and effective study, but, so far as we can make it out, without the slightest reference to any descriptive line in the poem it professes to illustrate, these designs are beyond the pale of criticism; if Millais and Hunt have shown something like an inclination to abjure their artistic creed, Rossetti seems to revel in its wildest extravagances: can he suppose that such art as he here exhibits can be admired? Is it not more calculated to provoke ridicule, or if not ridicule, pity for one who can so misapply his talents?

Feeling for the job of the engravers, the reviewer ended his critique, almost bitterly, noting that "the Pre-Raffaelite school has many admirers, and Tennyson has more, so there need be little apprehension of this volume not finding a home in many households."[49]

The mention of the Moxon Tennyson in the Athenaeum consists of a short paragraph in keeping with the usual space allotted to reviews of books under the heading "The Library Table."

> An illustrated edition of Mr. Tennyson's Poems has been long talked of as a thing on which many artists were labouring in a spirit of love. The volume is now on our table; and we may at once say that expectation will not suffer reverse. It is a beautiful and splendid book: worthy of the artists engaged, and worthy of the poet beloved by all artists. More that fifty drawings, from the hands of Messrs. Creswick, Mulready, Stanfield, Maclise, and some younger painters, adorn this precious work, - to which is prefixed a bust of Mr. Tennyson, by Robinson.[50]

Although the Athenaeum was the most popular of the art periodicals, it was also the least analytical and thorough. Nonetheless, it was considered more "prestigious" than its rivals which included the Saturday Review, the Spectator and the Examiner.[51] The Athenaeum had the highest circulation rate running at about 6000 copies per issue in 1858. In comparison, the Saturday Review had a circulation rate of about 5000 and the Westminster Review about 4000. The Athenaeum had been founded in 1828 by James Silk Buckingham and was published by J. Francis, and edited by William Hepworth Dixon from 1853 to 1869. This group of men saw themselves catering to "the best informed circle of the Metropolis" and they felt that a "sound intellectual culture" was "the best and most direct means of moral improvement."[52] Buckingham attracted many fine writers to his magazine in his attempt to provide a voice for the leading authors, historians and philosophers of the Victorian period. They issued the Athenaeum not only as a weekly (every Saturday), but reissued it monthly in a stitched wrapper. At the time Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers' Guide described it as underrated.

> The Athenaeum is commonly regarded only as a literary review - a mere vehicle for criticism on the works of others: but it ought to take a much higher rank in public estimation, for its original papers are numerous, and characterised by a philanthropic spirit. The criticism of The Athenaeum is never severe for the sake of severity: but at the same time it never permits a semblance of talent or bienceillance [sic] to pass for the reality. The reviews, properly so called, of this hebdomadal [sic], have an advantage over those of the Quarterlies, however analogous the latter may be in strength and acumen, in being wholly free from political bias. In its scrutiny of works in painting or sculpture, The Athenaeum realizes all that the purest taste could hope for or desire. It goes at once au fond:

> and its deductions are given with admirable lucidity. Its musical and theatrical critiques are ably written; and it devotes many columns to general science.[53]

In 1849 the Athenaeum had positively reviewed Rossetti's The Girlhood of the Virgin, but dismissed his Ecce Ancilla Domini. Both of these reviews were written by Frank Stone.[54] In fact, it was the latter of Stone's reviews that convinced Rossetti to stop exhibiting altogether. Rossetti is said to have written a "scathing letter" to the editor of the Athenaeum although no copy survives.[55] The paper disliked the Pre-Raphaelite exhibition of 1850 and was critical of Ruskin's support of the Pre-Raphaelites.

A short mention of the Moxon Tennyson was printed in the Bibliothèque universelle where the reviewer acknowledged that Tennyson was a great poet but found fault with the Pre-Raphaelite school which he/she felt had a misplaced sense of theory and "affected" sense of "naturalism."[56] However, the fact that the Moxon Tennyson was reviewed abroad indicates that the French were aware of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, even if some French reviewers disliked it.

The reviews help us reconstruct the patterns of criticism surrounding the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations for the Moxon Tennyson. Furthermore, they shed light on prevailing conceptions of the role of illustration in the 1850s. The reviews also indicate that artists and critics often had quite different views about the nature of illustration. While Rossetti and his Pre-Raphaelite brothers were attempting to change the role of illustration in order to raise it to the same level as the poetry it accompanied, the (mainly literary) critics favoured a supportive role for illustration which did not divert attention from the poetry. The reviewers also felt that Tennyson, in particular, was not a poet whose work benefitted from illustration.

The reviewers' attitude toward the Pre-Raphaelites were certainly influenced by the agenda of the periodicals for which they wrote. Moxon did not have personal or professional ties with these periodicals, with the exception of the Athenaeum, which only mentioned the Moxon Tennyson very briefly. Overall, there was a general critical consensus that Rossetti's images were disappointingly problematic. For example, when the reviewers attempted to interpret Rossetti's symbolism they found his pictorial language inaccessible. In the next chapter, which examines his use of symbolism, it will become evident that Rossetti had his own, quite different, ideas about the role of illustration.

NOTES

[1]Richard L. Stein, "The Pre-Raphaelite Tennyson," Victorian Studies (Spring 1981):288. Stein suggests that this was Moxon's intention since he only included poems published in 1842 or before. Tennyson's poems from this period had been harshly received by the critics and Stein feels that Moxon was using the illustrated edition as a "rebuttal."

[2]Walter E. Houghton, "British Periodicals of the Victorian Age: Bibliographies and Indexes," Library Trends 7 (July 1958):555.

[3]Walter Houghton, "Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes," The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982):4.

[4]Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review: the Periodical Press and the Victorian Art Exhibition System," Victorian Periodical Press, p. 79.

[5]Walter Houghton, "British Periodicals," p. 561.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review," p. 85-86.

[8]Magazine of Art III (1880):436.

[9]Athenaeum 1163 (1850):162.

[10]Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review," p. 99.

[11]Saturday Review XV (1863):593.

[12]"Belles Lettres," Westminster Review 12 (October 1857):590.

[13]Walter E. Houghton, ed., "The Westminster Review: Introduction," The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979):III, 547.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Walter Graham, English Literary Periodicals (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1930):318.

[16]Walter E. Houghton, "Westminster Review," p. 547.

[17]Ibid., p. 551.

[18]Gordon S. Haight, "George Meredith and the 'Westminster Review,'" Modern Language Review 53 (January 1958):1. The receipt for April is in the Parrish Collection at Princeton and the October receipt is in a private collection (R.L. Purdy).

[19]Ibid., p. 11.

[20]"Belles Lettres," Westminster Review 11 (April 1857):608.

[21]"Belles Lettres," Westminster Review 12 (July 1857):304.

[22]Ibid., p. 305.

[23]Ibid., p. 305.

[24]"Belles Lettres," Westminster Review 12 (October 1857):593.

[25]Ibid., p. 590.

[26]Ibid., p. 591.

[27]Ibid., pp. 591-592.

[28]Ibid., p. 592.

[29]Ibid., p. 593.

[30]John Woolford, "Periodicals and the Practice of Literary Criticism: 1855-64," Victorian Periodical Press, p. 131.

[31]Saturday Review XXII (1866):33.

[32]Ibid., p. 331.

[33]M.M. Bevington, The Saturday Review 1855-1868 (New York, 1941):16.

[34]John Woolford, "Periodicals and the Practice of Literary Criticism," p. 131.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Alvin Sullivan, ed., British Literary Magazines III (London: Greenwood Press, 1984):380.

[37]George Saintsbury, Nineteenth-Century Literature (1896):381.

[38]Alvin Sullivan, British Literary Magazines III, p. 380.

[39]Saturday Review III (1857):475.

[40]Saturday Review XIII (1862):271.

[41]Saturday Review III (1857):452.

[42]Saturday Review (July 4, 1857):11-12 and (December 26, 1857):583-84.

[43]"Tennyson," Saturday Review (June 27, 1857):601.

[44]Ibid., p. 601.

[45]Ibid., p. 601.

[46]Ibid., p. 602.

[47]Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review," p. 84.

[48]"Reviews,", Art Journal 3 (1857):231.

[49]Ibid., p. 231.

[50]"The Library Table," Athenaeum 1544 (May 30, 1857):693.

[51]Alvin Sullivan, British Literary Magazines III, p. 380.

[52]Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers' Guide (London: 1857):19.

[53]Ibid.

[54]G.H. Fleming, Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967):133. Athenaeum (20 April 1849) wherein Stone anonymously wrote in response to Ecce Ancilla Domini: "An unintelligent imitation of the mere technicalities of old art - golden glories, fanciful scribblings on the frames, and other infantile absurdities - constitutes all its claim. A certain expression in the eyes of the ill-drawn Virgin affords a gleam of something high in intention, but it is still not the true inspiration."

[55]Ibid., G.H. Fleming, p. 134.

[56]"Bulletin Letteraire et Bibliographique," Bibliothèque universelle (1858):120.

Chapter Four: Symbolism and Typology

Before Rossetti had even selected which poems he was going to illustrate for the Moxon Tennyson, he had decided that his role as an illustrator would give him the opportunity to "allegorize on one's own hook" which he felt was "**always** the upshot of all illustrated editions, - Tennyson, Allingham, or anyone." Unfortunately, Victorian audiences did not feel that "allegorizing" was "always the upshot of all illustrated editions," at least not in the way that Rossetti did.[1] Yet, Rossetti's feelings were certainly not remarkable considering that there was widespread interest in symbolism and typology during the mid-ninteenth century which did, to some extent, encourage illustrative departures from literal transcriptions of the text. However, Rossetti's unique style, along with his set of highly personalized symbols, generally frustrated viewers' attempts to interpret his paintings and drawings. As a result his illustrations often provoked hostile reactions. The Saturday Review observed, with respect to Rossetti's St. Cecilia, that:

> The artist had sent us here a sort of allegory; but it must be confessed that we have failed to understand it. We are sure, however, that it does not correctly interpret the poet's idea; and equally sure that it is not by a mere representation of the obviously unnatural that the conception of the supernatural is to be gained.[2]

As the reviewer noted, there were three main objections to Rossetti's designs for the Moxon Tennyson: first, the allegorical intent was not communicated; second, the design did not illustrate the poet's words accurately; and third, the division between the natural and supernatural was not clear. Millais and Hunt also used symbolism and typology in

their work, but as their images conformed more closely to the Victorian ideal in terms of composition and figural renderings, their work in the Moxon Tennyson was treated less harshly than Rossetti's.

In this chapter Rossetti's use of allegory and symbolism in his illustrations will be analyzed. The following questions will be addressed: What were Rossetti's influences? How did symbolism and typology fit into the Pre-Raphaelite framework? Finally, how did audiences receive these aspects of Rossetti's work? My intent is not to decipher Rossetti's personal iconography, but rather to show that contemporary critics were unable to understand it which in turn led to harsh reviews of the Moxon Tennyson.

Karl Josef Höltjen has usefully observed that symbols and emblems "cannot be treated in isolation but only in the context of the allegorical and typological modes of thought in the Victorian age."[3] Rossetti's use of symbolism was certainly part of a larger tradition of symbolism and typology which pervaded much art and literature during the Victorian period. Tennyson's In Memoriam, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Aurora Leigh used both allegory and typology.[4] Writers who used allegory in their work, such as Edgar Allan Poe, C. Baudelaire, Dante, and Edmund Spenser were all admired by the Victorians.[5] The Pre-Raphaelites' use of these techniques owed much to earlier artistic movements such as the Nazarenes and the Early Italians.[6]

The symbolism and typology used in art and literature appealed mostly to the upper middle and educated classes because they had the time to discuss and enjoy such matters. However, such devices were also used extensively in religion and taught to large congregations which consisted of many different classes. With respect to the educated classes, increasing amounts of leisure during the nineteenth century meant that more time could be spent reading, listening to music and enjoying the

fine arts. Reading symbols became an important part of the upper middle class lifestyle during the Victorian era.[7] The educated class had both the means to buy books and the time to read them.[8] They also bought art and attended exhibitions. These pastimes provided appropriate material for discussion at parties and gatherings. A common thread running throughout all the arts at this time was a strong desire for, and appreciation of, symbolism. Not only did symbolism generate many hours of discussion, it provided a basis for moral instruction that related to everyday life. For instance, a painting such as Hunt's The Light of the World (1853-56) held a moral message. Hunt himself described his well-received painting in these symbolic terms:

> The closed door was the obstinately shut mind, the weeds the cumber of daily neglect, the accumulated hindrance of sloth; the orchard the garden of delectable fruit for the dainty feast of the soul. The music of the still small voice was the summons to the sluggard to awaken and become a zealous labourer under the Divine Master; the bat flitting about only in darkness was a natural symbol of ignorance; the kingly and priestly dress of Christ; the sign of His reign over the body and soul...[9]

Through Hunt's biblical works, he fulfilled his wish to use his "powers to make more tangible Jesus Christ's history and teaching."[10]

Victorian men and women of the wealthy industrial classes (nouveau riche) generally enjoyed paintings and illustrations which required the viewer to decipher symbols and uncover moral messages such as the one just described. In some respects, it could be argued that such didactic forms of entertainment helped the viewers deal with the changes created by industrialization and the resulting loss of traditional values.[11] Order was partially restored through a number of social institutions such as religious establishments, as well as through the creation of codes

which governed behaviour. The arts could embody all of these structures, as well as provide an avenue of escapism.

Allegory and symbolism were structures of meaning which became popular in societies which sought order. J.R. Darbyshire argues that "typology has always flourished in times of ignorance and decay of learning."[12] Significantly, upper middle class Victorians felt that the Middle Ages were a time of order and continuity.[13] They were inspired by tales of the idyllic lives of medieval kings and queens. For instance, the legends of King Arthur and his knights were appropriated as historical fact and the wealthy Victorians went to great expense creating their own mock-medieval castles, costumes and tournaments.[14] In their work, the Pre-Raphaelites expressed this affinity for the Middle Ages through their use of allegory. In essence, they were seeking a new order: for art, for life, and for the concepts of beauty and love. They chose a lifestyle which lay at the opposite end of the spectrum from that which they perceived as the harsh, dirty, and unorganized life of the industrial age. They created an environment where symbolism, allegory, medieval legends, religion, beauty, love and the arts all merged to create an unworldly lifestyle. Artistically, the Pre-Raphaelites attempted to create an art form devoid of the banality of academic art. They wanted to infuse their paintings with meanings which would stimulate their Victorian viewers.

In their attempt to create order in their lives, the Victorians consumed numerous sermons, hymns, tracts and commentaries.[15] Significantly, sermons were largely based on scriptural interpretations. As they often attended two sermons each Sunday many Victorians received a substantial dose of these interpretations. The British 1853 census on religion tallied 5,300,000 in attendance at the Church of England on Sunday, March 3rd. A further 4,500,000 attended churches of which three

quarters shared the Evangelical Anglican doctrine.[16] Thus, evangelicalism was an important force in Britain from 1790 to the 1860's and its followers were strong moralists who adhered to a structured lifestyle. Secular entertainment was forbidden on Sundays as the day was spent reading sermons or devotional works such as Milton's Paradise Lost. The large number of religious weekly periodicals attests to the popularity of keeping up with church views. Sermons were published each week in periodicals such as the Homilist, the Pulpit, and the Penny Pulpit.

The evangelicals, along with the closely related baptists, methodists and presbyterians, all advocated the emotional aspect of experiencing Christ which was necessary in order to be "saved." Imagination on the part of the devotee was a key part of being able to experience the emotional suffering of Christ. This ability allowed worshippers to more fully appreciate devotional poetry such as Tennyson's In Memoriam (1850) or Keble's The Christian Year (1827). The evangelicals taught typology to their congregations so that individual worshippers could read the types of Christ in the Old Testament in an attempt to base all Scriptures on Christian doctrine.[17] This meant that an extraordinarily large percentage of the population was familiar not only with typological interpretations of the Bible but also with the use of typology to communicate messages. However, since types could represent locations, times and tenses, the artists had to give their audiences clues to which references they intended. There were a number of ways in which the artist could achieve this goal, including: putting references into titles; adding accompanying texts or poems to exhibition catalogues, or inscribing the relevant texts and poems into the painting itself, or else on its frame.

The Pre-Raphaelites were inspired by the linkage of love and

religion which was promoted in such works as John Keble's book The Christian Year (1827). In this book, Keble, a theologian, heightened interest in romantic symbols by basing them on Christian theories. To him, everything in nature had symbolic meanings and religious connections. This book provided the Victorians with a guide for reading religious symbols from nature, and at the same time offered them a program of thinking that was morally acceptable and historically sanctioned. Keble explained the correlation between religious symbolism and nature:

> If we suppose Poetry in general to mean the expression of an overflowing mind, relieving itself ... may it not be affirmed that (God) condescends in like manner to have a Poetry of His own, a set of holy and divine associations and meanings, where with it is His will to invest all Material things.[18]

Essentially, Keble provided a framework which was similar to that which the Pre-Raphaelites used to build their religiously-based new vision. Keble expounded his theory of symbolism in nature as proof of the existence of God.

> For, once let that magic wand, as the phrase goes, touch any region on Nature, forthwith all that before seemed secular and profane is illumed with a new and celestial light: men come to realize that the various images and similes of things, and all other poetic charms, are not merely the play of a keen and clever mind, or to be put down as empty fancies: but rather they guide us by gentle hints and no uncertain signs, to the very utterance of Nature, or we may more truly say, of the author of Nature.[19]

Keble's typology, which was essentially a form of biblical interpretation, was especially important to Rossetti. Typology can be defined as "a Christian form of scriptural interpretation that claims to discover divinely intended anticipations of Christ and His dispensation

in the laws, events and people of the Old Testament."[20] A type is an event which prefigures Christ. An example of a type would be the instance of Moses freeing the Israelites from Egyptian slavery and leading them to the Holy Land. This physical event or series of events prefigures Christ's spiritual work. Similarly, any event of sacrifice can be seen as prefiguring the event of Christ's crucifixion. Over time, types, symbols and emblems became interchangeable as many Victorian poets secularized typological images.[21] All members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle used typology though not all were devout. While Hunt was certainly a confirmed believer in God and the scriptures, Rossetti considered himself an agnostic. Nevertheless, this did not stop Rossetti from using typology or from discussing how he used it. In the Llandaff Cathedral Altarpiece, The Seed of David (1860-4), Rossetti juxtaposed two scenes which were joined by typological imagery. On the left he painted David as a boy preparing to slay Goliath. On the right he painted David as a king. The left scene was to be interpreted as David the Shepherd who prefigured the shepherds at the Nativity, while the right represented the king as a type of Christ and ruler of all. This was explained by Rossetti in a letter to C.E. Norton, in July of 1858:

> It is that of the Nativity; for the side pieces to which I have figures of David as a shepherd and David as a king - the ancestor of Christ, embodying in his own person the shepherd and the king who are seen worshipping in the Nativity.[22]

Rossetti described the Llandaff triptych as not "a literal reading of the event of the Nativity, but rather a condensed symbol of it."[23] In Rossetti's The Girlhood of Mary Virgin (1848-49), Rossetti represented the Virgin in her youth, but used typology to symbolize her future

role.[24] Rossetti felt that the common representation of Mary reading under the direction of St. Anne was not historically accurate and therefore chose to represent her embroidering a lily. He explained: "In order, therefore, to attempt something more probable and at the same time less commonplace, I have represented the future Mother of our Lord as occupied in embroidering a lily, - always under the direction of St. Anne."[25]

Another advocate of symbolism was the influential writer, John Ruskin, whose theories greatly influenced the direction of Pre-Raphaelitism. His evangelical upbringing shaped his philosophy (which shared much with Keble's) that nature was itself the symbolic representation of God.

> I trust that some day the language of Types will be more read and understood by us than it has been for centuries; and when this language, a better one than either Greek or Latin, is again recognized amongst us, we shall find, or remember that as the other visible elements of the universe - its air, its water and its flame set forth, in their pure energies, the life-giving, purifying, and sanctifying influences of the Deity upon his creatures, so the earth, in its purity, sets forth His eternity and His Truth.[26]

Like the Pre-Raphaelites, Ruskin expressed a preference for the Early Italian and Gothic periods. Ruskin felt that artists such as Tintoretto used typology to incorporate "spiritual truths" into their paintings. Hunt recalled that Ruskin's observation was especially inspirational to him.[27] It is worth noting that Ruskin disliked the academic works of his time and concentrated on championing J.M.W. Turner. In 1853, his book, The Stones of Venice, established him as the authority on the Gothic Revival. Ruskin found a new protégé for such ideas in Millais who eventually introduced the rest of the Pre-Raphaelite circle to Ruskin's work. Ruskin's link with the Pre-Raphaelites was fostered by their

shared enthusiasm for Gothic art and architecture as well as Early Italian painting. The Pre-Raphaelites felt that the quality of painting had declined since the Italian art of the Middle Ages. They believed that this decline in art was accompanied by a corresponding loss of truth to nature which they strove to restore. F.G. Stephens, in his article "The Purpose and Tendency of Early Italian Art" stated that:

> The modern artist does not retire to monasteries, or practise discipline; but he may show his participation in the same high feeling by a firm attachment to truth in every point of representation, which is the most just method. For how can good be sought by evil means, or by falsehood, or by slight in any degree? By a determination to represent the thing and the whole of the thing, by training himself to the deepest observation of its fact and detail, enabling himself to reproduce, as far as is possible, nature herself, the painter will best evince his share of faith ... Truth in every particular ought to be the aim of the artist.[28]

The Pre-Raphaelite focus on religious themes and symbolism further connected them to Ruskin, who not only defended but positively championed the Pre-Raphaelites.[29]

Ruskin argued that symbolism in art was a natural progression from the symbolism in nature or life itself. He concluded that:

> you need not be in the least afraid of pushing these analogies too far... there is no moral vice, no moral virtue, which has not its precise prototype in the art of painting; so that you may at your will illustrate the moral habit by the art, or the art by the moral habit.[30]

Ruskin's support of the Pre-Raphaelite movement is important because he was an influential critic of the period. For example, he wrote a letter

to the Times discussing Hunt's The Awakening Conscience in symbolic terms, feeling that every object in the painting represented something tragic, "if rightly read."[31] His emphasis on deriving meaning from the environment, and his rejection of the industrial age, encouraged the public to escape to an artistic sphere which was well ordered and where all elements were related through symbolic representations. He advocated a painting tradition which combined a realistic style and a complex symbolic language. He felt that beauty was received on two levels: that of the aesthetic quality based on nature, and secondly, that based on an association with God.[32] Rossetti sought advice from Ruskin and they corresponded frequently. William Rossetti later recalled that "Mr. Ruskin was extremely intimate with my brother from 1854 to 1865, and was of material help to his professional career."[33] In 1856, Rossetti painted a religious piece, Passover of the Holy Family, for Ruskin.

Victorian scholars and intellectuals debated the many forms of symbolism: personal, traditional, and moralist, as well as the various structures: allegory, typology, and emblems.[34] Many, like Ruskin and Keble, created their own language of symbolism. The Pre-Raphaelites were no exception, although there were often individual differences amongst members of the group. As a "Brotherhood," they all endorsed the use of symbolism and allegory to "transcend the limitations of illustration."[35] In other words, the Pre-Raphaelites felt that symbolism was necessary in order to communicate an entire story through only one illustration or representation. Hunt discussed this with Tennyson when responding to the poet's concerns that Hunt had not illustrated his words literally in his The Lady of Shalott.[36] Hunt utilized moral symbolism in scenes of contemporary realism as is evident in such works as The Awakening Conscience (1852).[37] Millais employed more traditional forms of symbolism which were better understood by the general public. For

instance, the critic of the Saturday Review praised Millais's use of symbols which were commonly known and closely associated with the text. With respect to his The Sisters, the reviewer noted:

> The refrain - "The wind is howling in turret and tree" - is strongly emblematic of this sentiment, and the drawing renders the refrain into form not only in its literal meaning, but in all its latent imagination.[38]

In this respect, Millais's use of emblems differed from Hunt's The Lady of Shalott, which the same reviewer felt demonstrated too much artistic licence:

> A painter may expatiate in symbolism as much as he pleases in his own pictures; but where he charges himself with interpreting the thought of the poet, he has no claim to such license.[39]

As the reviews indicate, the symbolism of the Pre-Raphaelites was highly personal. Despite the fact that they regularly used widely-recognized emblems for creating their own language, they often confused their viewing public by adopting ostensibly realistic styles. For instance, although Hunt's The Scapegoat (1854) was certainly realistic in appearance, it held a symbolic meaning which was not understood or appreciated by his audience, as the comments of the Athenaeum critic indicate:

> Still the goat is but a goat, and we have no right to consider it an allegorical animal of which it can bear no eternal marks. Of course the salt may be sin and the clouds eternal rebukings of pride, and so on, but we might spin these fancies from anything.[40]

In other words, Hunt did not give his audience enough clues to decipher

the moral message. On Hunt's part, this was intentional. That Rossetti initially accepted Hunt's moralizing symbolism, is evident in Found (begun in 1853). Ultimately, however, Rossetti discarded such moralizing in favour of his own personal symbolic language (largely based on women as in Beata Beatrix [1863]).[41] Such a shift evidently also caused his reviewers concern. Commenting on his Sir Galahad (figure 4), the critic for the Saturday Review stressed:

> The knight has alighted by the secret shrine in the forest, and is drinking holy water from a cup suspended before the taper-lit alter. The bell is swinging lustily, and below the table are four figures visible through the dark, solemnly pulling the rope. We presume them to be angels; but if they are such, they might have discovered some less mechanical method of ringing the bell. There is nothing in the drawing to mark the line between what is symbolic, and what is real; and the result is an impression of absolute unreality.

Rossetti had crossed the line by not including enough clues to facilitate interpretation.[42] Even the Westminster Review critic, who tried to be generous, felt that Rossetti had taken his use of symbolism too far.

> The fervid devotion of "Mariana in the South," kissing the Saviour's feet, and the ecstasy of the rapt St. Cecilia under the Angel's salute, are due to a man of genius who may be too much given to symbolic elaborations...[43]

At times, however, the Pre-Raphaelites' personal symbolism was explained by an accompanying poem or verse which would be submitted or displayed with the painting. Hunt, for instance, accompanied his major works with "detailed exhibition pamphlets explaining his intentions."[44] His The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple (1854-60) was accompanied

not only by a key plate but also by Stephens' book written under the direction of Hunt. In his The Shadow of Death the typological text was placed on the frame. Similarly, Rossetti used poetry to accompany his paintings, although it took him fourteen years to write the pendant poem to his Passover in the Holy Family.

The inter-relationship of the arts was an issue which received considerable discussion in the nineteenth century. The Pre-Raphaelites stressed the importance of this inter-relationship in their art and, in part, contributed to the controversy over the role of the illustrator, which was an issue that was raised several times in the Moxon Tennyson reviews.[45] It should be noted that Rossetti's views on the interrelationship of the arts were in part derived from William Blake. For instance, Rossetti's The Sonnet is reminiscent of Blake's Songs of Innocence and Experience in that Rossetti also created an image which was emblematic of the verse.[46] In a letter to his mother, Rossetti discussed the meaning of his symbols in the design and indicated his knowledge of the emblematic tradition.[47] Blake's use of symbolism was admired by the Pre-Raphaelites because "he had evolved a dialect for his visions, which was a source of envy to them as well as a sanction for their own private attempts."[48]

The temporal framework of the symbolism was also an important factor in determining how the public would interpret it. The Pre-Raphaelites moved between contemporary and idyllically medieval formats. For instance, Hunt drew Mariana in a romanticized Gothic setting for the Moxon Tennyson, but he eventually turned to contemporary realist settings in such works as The Scapegoat and other biblical subjects which he painted on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Like Hunt, Millais painted beautiful medieval works such as Isabella (1849), but he too eventually shifted his focus to contemporary works after he became a member of the

Royal Academy. Although Rossetti also attempted to portray contemporary themes with a traditional moral message in paintings, such as his Found, the evidence suggests that he did not feel comfortable with this approach which was perhaps why he never completed the picture. Rossetti's difficulties with Found may have motivated him to avoid pursuing such subjects. After Found, Rossetti turned his attention to medieval subjects and he created numerous allegorical images of women. In trying to attempt to unravel the meaning of Rossetti's Moxon Tennyson designs, one can at least determine that there is no evidence to suggest that these illustrations were based on contemporary issues.

Rossetti favoured medievalism for two reasons: first it provided him with a large body of emblematic material, and second, it facilitated religious meanings.[49] Rossetti, who in this respect was typical of the Oxford Movement, combined his medieval themes with a unique stylization. Although educated Victorian audiences were familiar with deciphering symbolic imagery, Rossetti's extreme stylization and personal language proved confusing and frustrating for his contemporaries, who were unable to relate his work to contemporary issues. While his description of his art as allegorizing "on one's own hook" fulfilled Rossetti's desires, it was not popular with his audiences. Rossetti's description of his allegorizing method in the Moxon Tennyson is enlightening since it sheds light on his role in the creation of the book. When Rossetti made this statement, he was linking allegory to illustration which gave him the opportunity to use symbolism and typology in his work. "One's own hook" can be interpreted as using a personal form of symbolism which may or may not have spoken to the general public.

For the most part the Pre-Raphaelites did not seem overly concerned in making their symbolism accessible to their viewers. In fact, at times, they preferred it not to be obvious. Their concern lay in a truth

to nature as dictated and exemplified by the Early Italians. The diverging definitions of realism and naturalism were merged to accommodate the Pre-Raphaelite outlook. The Pre-Raphaelite paintings were superficially realistic, but evoked spiritual associations. In his use of typology we can see that Rosetti's works differed from those of established artists such as Maclise and Mulready who essentially "recreated" images which mirrored the text. Rossetti's typology added an emotional dimension which the academic artists' work lacked. He challenged the common definition of illustration and elevated it to a level where it was of equal importance to the text. Thus, Rossetti's personal symbolism, when combined with subject matter from the Arthurian legends, lent itself to allegorical interpretations which tended to confuse and frustrate his Victorian public.

NOTES

[1]Letter from Rossetti to Allingham, 23 January 1855. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, ed. Oswald Doughty and John Wahl (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-7):I, 239.

[2]"Tennyson," Saturday Review (June 27, 1857):602.

[3]Karl Josef Höltgen, Aspects of the Emblem (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986):142.

[4]There are close to three hundred direct references to the Bible in Tennyson's poems according to Henry Van Dyke in his "The Bible in Tennyson," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine 38 (August 1889):515.

[5]Mark Girouard states that Spenser's epic, Faerie Queene, is "full of castles, monsters, knights, queens and ladies, but behind them all lies an elaborate moral and political allegory, in which Gloriana, the Faerie Queene, is Elizabeth herself." Mark Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman (London: Yale University Press, 1981):17.

[6]A typical use of typology in Pre-Raphaelite poetry would be James Collinson's "The Child Jesus, A Record Typical of The Five Sorrowful Mysteries." This work appeared in the second issue of the Germ and Rossetti described it as "emblematical.' See Lothar Hönnighausen, The Symbolist Tradition in English Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988):31. The Nazarenes were important to the Pre-Raphaelites because they used religious and cultural symbolism in an effort to revitalize their national art. German expatriates Peter Cornelius and Friedrich Overbeck were working in Rome when Ford Madox Brown met them. Brown, who was inspired by the Nazarenes' nationalistic spirit, as well as their compositional style and use of flat tones, brought these idea to the Pre-Raphaelites. The Early Italian artists who inspired the Pre-Raphaelites were Gozzoli, Ghiberti, Fra Angilico, Masaccio, Ghirlandaio, Orcagna, and Giotto. The Pre-Raphaelites were also interested in the engravings of Carlo Lasinio's frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

[7]Lothar Hönnighausen, The Symbolist Tradition, p. 13.

[8]Leisure time was abundant. Hired servants kept the large households running smoothly and governesses took responsibility for the care and instruction of the children. Socializing became a necessary component of daily living as the wealthy occupied their days with dinner parties, sporting events, travel and country excursions. A documentation of this lifestyle can be found in Shirley Nicholson, A Victorian Household (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988). For an overview of Victorian upper class society and their social functions see Stella Margetson, Victorian High Society (London: B.T. Batsford, 1980).

[9]William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Macmillan, 1905):I, 350.

[10]Ibid., I, 349.

[11]Lothar Hönnighausen argues this in the first chapter of The Symbolist Tradition.

[12]J.R. Darbyshire, "Typology," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1922):500-504 and quoted in Theodore Ziolkowski, "Some Features of Religious Figuralism in Twentieth-Century Literature," Literary Uses of Typology ed. Earl Miner (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977):345.

[13]Mark Girouard discusses the desire of upper middle class Victorians to recreate medieval chivalry and romance, and their love of knights, castles, armour, and heraldry in his book The Return to Camelot. The importance of medieval legend to the Pre-Raphaelites will be discussed in chapter five.

[14]Ibid., p. 93. Girouard discuss the Eglinton Tournament in chapter seven of his book. Lord Eglinton's full-scale re-creation of a medieval tournament received great publicity at the time, not only for its entertainment value, but as a political statement by the aristocracy of its power and its opposition to the Reform Bill.

[15]Rossetti owned a number of books dealing with religion including: Sermons - Certain Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Church in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (with 39 Articles of Religion), (Dublin, 1767); S. Huré. Gospels (Paris, 1651); Bible Greek, New Testament, (Oxford, 1851); Testament: The Testament of the 12 Patriarchs the Sons of Jacob (T. Milbourn, 1699), signed and dated 1833 by William Palmer, a popular theologian and tractarian; Miracles. (Genoa, 1760). All sources are from documents of Rossetti's estate sales at the University of British Columbia.

[16]George P. Landow, Victorian Types Victorian Shadows: Biblical Typology in Victorian Literature, Art, and Thought, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980):16.

[17]George P. Landow, "Moses Striking the Rock," p. 343.

[18]John Keble, The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy Days Throughout the Year (London: Scott, 1887):10.

[19]John Keble, Lectures on Poetry 1832-41, ed. Edward Kershaw Francis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912):400.

[20]Karl Josef Höltgen termed typology as a biblical interpretation in his book Aspects of the Emblem. The quotation is by George P. Landow, Victorian Types Victorian Shadows, p. 3.

[21]Karl Josef Höltgen, Aspects of the Emblem, pp. 142-143.

[22]This documentation is found in a letter from Rossetti to C.E. Norton dated July 1858. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 338.

[23]Rossetti as cited in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Rossetti Papers, 1862 - 1870, ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: 1903):51. See also John

Dixon Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination: 1848-1900 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968):142.

[24]H. Sussman, Fact into Figure: Typology in Carlyle, Ruskin, and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979):60.

[25]Ibid. Rossetti was interested in historical theory. In 1856 he wrote to Browning: "I'm about half-way through Ruskin's third volume which you describe very truly. Glorious it is in many parts - how fine that passage in the 'Religious false ideal,' where he describes Raphael's Charge to Peter, and the probable truth of the event in its outward aspect." Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I, 286.

[26]John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London: Allen, 1903-12):XI, 41.

[27]George P. Landow, "Moses Striking the Rock," p. 317.

[28]F.G. Stephens, " The Purpose and Tendency of Early Italian Art," rpt. in The Pre-Raphaelites in Literature and Art ed. D.S.R. Welland, (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1953):42.

[29]Ruskin published a pamphlet entitled Pre-Raphaelitism in 1851 which suggested there was a connection between Millais and Turner. He added a positive critique of the Brotherhood to his new edition of volume one of Modern Painters.

[30]John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, XV, 117.

[31]Letter to the Times, May 25, 1854. John Ruskin, The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art by John Ruskin, ed. John Evan (London: Chapman & Hall, 1959):68.

[32]George P. Landow, "Moses Striking the Rock," p. 316.

[33]Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Poems of Rossetti with Illustration from his own Pictures and Designs ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: Ellis & Elvey,1904):I, xx.

[34]Rossetti's use of emblems include the pomegranate in Proserpina, the lute in A Sea-Spell and the apple and arrow in Venus Verticordia. Examples of his use of traditional symbols include the well of life in Mary Magdalene Leaving the House of Feasting, and the dove and white poppy in Beata Beatrix.

[35]D.S.R. Welland, The Pre-Raphaelites in Literature and Art (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 1953):19.

[36]Hunt explained to Tennyson why he had drawn the web wound around the Lady of Shalott like a cocoon: "May I urge that I had only half a page on which to convey the impression of weird fate, whereas you use about fifteen pages to give expression to the complete idea." William Holman Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelites and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1913):II, 95.

[37]For example, in Hunt's symbolic repertoire, the shepherd represented a "pastor who neglects his duties." For further information, consult John Dixon Hunt The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination 1848-1900, p. 137.

[38]"Tennyson," Saturday Review (June 27, 1857):602.

[39]Ibid.

[40]William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, (London: MacMillan, 1905):110-11.

[41]Rossetti remarked on Beata Beatrix: "It must of course be remembered, in looking at the picture, that it is not intended at all to represent death, but to render it under the semblance of a trance, in which Beatrice, seated at a balcony overlooking the city, is suddenly rapt...she, through her shut lids, is conscious of a new world." From a manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (1640-3) and discussed by John Dixon Hunt in The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination: 1848-1900, p. 142-3.

[42]To Coventry Patmore's complaint about Rossetti's inaccessible symbolism Rossetti replied that his aim was to make the "symbolism inherent in the fact." Coventry Patmore, Memories and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore (1900):II, 233. John Dixon Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination: 1848-1900, p. 143.

[43]"Belles Lettres," Westminster Review 12 (October 1857):591.

[44]George P. Landow, Victorian Types Victorian Shadows, p. 130.

[45]Poets were inspired by art as in W. Wordsworth's "The Last Supper by Leonardo Da Vinci" or John Gray's "On a Picture," about Millais's Ophelia. Rossetti wrote Sonnets for Pictures based on his own and other poets' work. Turner used quotes from poets to accompany his paintings and the Pre-Raphaelites adopted this tendency. For a further discussion of such practices, see Lothar Hönnighausen, The Symbolist Tradition, pp. 52-54.

[46]Rossetti owned a copy of William Blake's Songs of Innocence and Experience, Sharing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul. (W. Pickering 7 W. Newbery, 1839). From estate sale documents at the University of British Columbia. He also owned a Blake notebook with parts of the "Songs of Experience" in it. This is documented in A.I. Greive's The Art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: 1. Found 2. The Pre-Raphaelite Modern-Life Subject. (Norwich: Real World Publications, 1976):15. Karl Josef Höltgen in Aspects of the Emblem says "Here the interaction of picture and verse is that of an emblem," p. 176.

[47]Lothar Hönnighausen, The Symbolist Tradition, p. 57. The letter is dated 27 April 1880 and reads as follows: "I have no doubt that your discerning eyes plucked out the heart of the mystery in the little design. In it the Soul is instituting the 'memorial to one dead deathless hour,' a ceremony easily effected by placing a winged hour-glass in a rose-bush, at the same time that she touches the fourteen-string harp on the Sonnet, hanging round her neck. On the rose-branches trailing over in the opposite corner is seen hanging the Coin, which is the second symbol used for the Sonnet. Its 'face' bears the soul,

expressed in the butterfly; its converse the Serpent of Eternity enclosing the Alpha and Omega." Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Vol. IV, p. 1760.

[48]John Dixon Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination 1848-1900, p. 29.

[49]Richard L. Stein, The Ritual of Interpretation: The Fine Arts as Literature in Ruskin, Rossetti, and Pater (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975):179.

Chapter Five: The Arthurian Legends

The Moxon Tennyson, as stated earlier, became an important book with respect to the history of illustration despite its lack of financial success at the time. Some illustrations in the book indicate there was a growing audience for challenging and innovative designs. Accompanying this was an extension of the subject matter considered appropriate for the visual arts. An example of such newly popular subject matter was the legends of Arthur which had gained popularity first in the literary arts, and then in paintings. The Moxon Tennyson can be placed at the beginning of the Arthurian Revival in pictorial arts.[1] It also set a precedent in that it separated the images of Arthur from the text of the legends, and concentrated on the emotional aspect of the legends as opposed to their action, or historical components.

The most influential factor in the support of the Arthurian legends as a subject for painting came when William Dyce won the commission to paint seven frescoes, allegorically depicting Arthurian themes in the Queen's Robing Room in the new Palace of Westminster. The frescoes, which were begun in 1848 and completed in 1864, were fully supported by the monarchy and Dyce's fellow academic painters. While this project opened the door for Revival artists wishing to depict the legends, including those working in illustration, there had always been a tradition of Arthurian illustration dating back to medieval manuscript illuminations.[2]

The first known illustrated manuscript is Lancelot - Rennes 255 dating from 1220.[3] During the Middle Ages, Arthurian texts were commonly accompanied by small illustrations. This differed from the Arthurian Revival when painting became the most popular form of depiction. During the Revival, the book illustration of Arthurian subjects was slow to

develop. Perhaps because painting was considered more important and fell under the stricter constraints of public taste, illustrators were given more space to experiment and thus attracted small specialized audiences for their work[4]

A landmark illustrated edition of the Arthurian legends was Wynkyn de Worde's reissue of the Morte Darthur in 1498 with 21 woodcuts.[5] Though the woodcuts were poorly executed, they were republished in 1529 with 17 of the 21 designs. Between this volume and the Moxon Tennyson another precedent setting book, Samuel Carter Hall's The Book of British Ballads (1842), appeared.[6] Hall's illustrated collection of poetical works focused on illustration as an interpretive, rather than documentary, form of communication.[7] However, Hall conformed to the tradition of merging the text and image together (figure 17). (This will be discussed later in this chapter.) The Moxon Tennyson followed Hall's lead but separated the text and the images entirely, and in doing so elevated the illustrative image to the level of the poetry (figure 18). These two volumes, and Dyce's frescoes, created a stable platform for the development of Arthurian images in illustration and painting. Such subjects were encouraged by the Art Union who sponsored a competition in 1860 for designs illustrating Tennyson's four Idylls. Paolo Priolo's winning sculptural figures were reminiscent of Dyce's frescoes, yet the 16 prints still met the conventional illustrative dictum with the requisite two line caption beneath the images.[8]

Tennyson's Idylls of the King was again illustrated in 1866 by Gustave Doré and also, at Tennyson's request, by photographer Julia Margaret Cameron in 1874-5.[9] Arthurian imagery clminated in Aubrey Beardsley's interpretation of Le Morte Darthur in 1893 which Debra Mancoff described as the "most complete integration of modern imagery with medieval text."[10] The early twentieth century saw a continued

reliance on the Pre-Raphaelite imagery of Arthur with Jessie M. King's linear drawings for The Defence of Guinevere and Other Poems, (by William Morris), and Florence Harrison's late medieval woodcut style of illustrations to Tennyson's "Guenevere" and Other Poems. Walter Crane's wood engravings for Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queen also contained Arthurian symbolism that resembled that of the Pre-Raphaelites.[11]

Perhaps in light of the popularity of this theme, three artists chose to illustrate Tennyson's Arthurian poems in the Moxon Tennyson: Rossetti, Hunt and Maclise. Their different handling of the illustrations is accentuated by their different approaches to the legends. Such differences should not be surprising, however, considering how the Arthurian Revival was variously interpreted by different artists and social groups. Politics, history and social change were all important factors in both the Gothic and Arthurian Revivals, since the stressful nature of the industrial world was eroding the stability of the prevailing social and political orders. At the core of the Gothic and Arthurian Revivals was an effort to re-establish tradition in order to cushion the shock of change. By examining the history of the Arthurian legends, their revival in the nineteenth century, and their appropriation by artists, I will trace various artistic responses to the subject ranging from documentary and historical depictions to emotional and sublime renderings, and from heroic, allegorical narratives to the sorts of simplified morality stories directed towards young audiences. In this respect it should be emphasized that the Moxon Tennyson responded to a complex era of social, political and artistic change in which images from the past were constantly being refurbished.

Despite the fact that the Arthurian Revival culminated during the 1840s, it should be noted that interest in King Arthur and his knights had existed since the twelfth century.[12] The first written source on

Arthur was by a moralist named Gildas in his treatise De excidio et conquestu Britanniane (On the Destruction and Conquest of Britain). The text is thought to date from around 540, although Gildas discussed British history from the fifth and sixth centuries and mentioned Ambrosius Aurelianus as a British leader who first rallied his people against the Saxons.[13] Gildas' theory is not the only one available for examination. A Welshman named Nennius discussed an "Arthur" in his Historia Brittonum (History of the Britons) from around 800. This Arthur, also a leader of Britain, led twelve battles against the Saxons. In spite of such references, scholars are still unable to trace a true history of Arthur, although they generally agree that a Legend of Arthur can be traced. Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur merged historic facts with the legend of Arthur, resulting in a seemingly historical story.[14] Geoffrey's book spawned further books on Arthur, such as that by the Norman poet, Wace, who introduced the Round Table in his Romance of Brutus (Roman de Brut) in 1155. By the thirteenth century a great following for prose romances had emerged. All classes of society enjoyed these tales of the heart which were repeated orally by minstrels. The poet, Chretien de Troyes, who was one of the first to translate the tales into a romance, focused not on Arthur but on his knights. This shifting emphasis has been explained by the fact that Chretien was writing, not for the King, but for the aristocracy, who favoured a decentralized royalty.[15] Chretien's five Arthurian romances became the classics in this genre. They include Erec et Enide, Clinges, Lancelot or The Knight of the Cart, Yvain or The Knight with the Lion, and Perceval or The Story of the Grail. These major works date between the 1150 and 1190.

While the stories of Chretien de Troyes maintained a firm hold within the French tradition, Sir Thomas Malory proved the most influential for English writers. It was Malory's translation of the

Arthurian legends, most notably his Morte Darthur, that influenced the Pre-Raphaelites and Tennyson. Malory's writings are in the publicly appealing form of a prose romance. His Morte Darthur is divided into three sections: the first section discusses the rise of Arthur; the second section deals with the Round Table at its height; and the third section recounts the quest for the Holy Grail and the downfall of Arthur's reign. Malory's achievement rested upon his ability to sift through the mass of Arthurian writings and create a uniform epic which included previous stories, eliminated others altogether and created some new ones. (For example, Malory reduced Merlin's role considerably.)[16] Rather than trying to create a factually-based narrative, Malory approached the topic from a psychological perspective, focusing on the exploration of love. The Pre-Raphaelites appreciated this focus on love, as well as Malory's lack of detailed descriptions of people and events. In contrast with his predecessors, Malory offered a more streamlined account, concentrating on drama instead of distracting detail. "Malory allowed his audience's imagination to visualize all the familiar Arthurian characters as they saw fit."[17] It should be noted that in this respect, Malory differed from Tennyson who, for instance, added numerous descriptive details to his characters. The Pre-Raphaelites relished the ability to create their own highly descriptive images of the Arthurian characters. What Malory eliminated in physical detail he balanced with psychological insight. His work is a masterpiece, not only in terms of style, but in the way each character's psychological composition seems both consistent and true to life. His characters are multi-dimensional and complex.[18]

Interest in the Middle Ages was renewed during the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century. The ensuing enthusiasm for medieval forms appeared in art, architecture, literature and social entertainment. For

instance, Malory was rediscovered and reprinted which enabled the Pre-Raphaelites to use his book extensively. This period also spawned the birth of medieval studies in education, lead by Bishop Percy. Social reformers, such as William Cobbett and John Ruskin, saw the Middle Ages as an era of "faith, order and harmony" and used it as the basis of a philosophy intended to combat the "evils" of the Industrial Age.[19]

The initial revival of the Arthurian legends in literature and poetry was accompanied by the Gothic Revival of architecture, and eventually found form in painting and illustration. The Gothic Revival began in the early 1700s in response to archaeological interests as well as the need to inspire unity and nationalism in Britain. The archaeological phase of the revival was rooted in scientific discoveries whereas the "escapist" phase (that pertaining to entertainment and social activities) centred on those Gothic tendencies such as chivalry and feudalism which reinforced a sense of order in the British upper classes.[20] The need to reinforce order was generated by a number of factors which preceded the Gothic Revival and Arthurian Revival movements. Perhaps, first and foremost, England's economic and social structures had changed as a result of the Industrial Revolution. A new industrial proletariat class emerged. Problems concerning working conditions in the factories, health, child labour, poverty, and the rise of social "evils" (alcoholism and prostitution) were significant issues during the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the upper classes worried that the social structure which had kept them secure was starting to crumble and that the way of life which they had always known would disappear. The French Revolution was a worrying sign to the English aristocracy, as was the revolution in America.[21]

Given these anxieties, the social structure of the Middle Ages provided an appealing image of a fixed, "patriarchal" class system of

extremely limited mobility. For the nineteenth century upper classes, feudalism represented an ideal order in which the social and economic forces were controlled by the aristocracy whose most important member was the "upper class male or English gentleman."[22] The importance of the gentleman's role was reinforced by a code of chivalry, which was believed to have originated in the Middles Ages and the Arthurian legends. Such legends were increasingly mobilized by various sectors of the upper classes. For this sector of society medievalism was not just a hobby or recreational interest, since it also had serious social and political consequences.

At this point it should be emphasized that the notion of chivalry changed as it became increasingly romanticized during the late eighteenth and through the nineteenth centuries. Richard Hurd, the literary scholar who wrote Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762), was one of the first to romanticize the idea of chivalry.[23] His essay developed the idea of chivalry as a code of moral behaviour whereby noble men were inspired to accomplish heroic deeds for the good of all people. The knight was glamorized and motivated by "the love of God and the Ladies."[24]

Another important book which romanticized chivalry was Tomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765).[25] His collection of medieval poems became a source for many poets, artists and writers running through over twenty editions before 1900. Ironically, it was **not** Percy's objective to romanticize the Middle Ages. In fact, he wrote of the difficulties of the period in terms of its lack of education and civility. Percy's goal was to write about literature from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries. In fiction, Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe (1819) was by far the most influential piece of contemporary literature to take up chivalric themes. Combining historical accuracy with interesting characters, Scott provided an adventure story which rewarded the good and

punished the evil in true chivalric form. Following in the wake of Ivanhoe, the upper classes collected medieval relics, held medieval "Ivanhoe" balls where they dressed in medieval fashions, and read medieval histories and literature.

The cult of chivalry culminated in the Eglinton Tournament of 1839. This duelling tournament, in which a Queen of Beauty was crowned (again reinforcing the role of the monarchy), was the idea of the Earl of Eglinton.[26] Great time and expense went into the planning of this mock medieval tournament which was attended by some 2000 spectators. Aside from the duels, there was also a gala banquet and grand procession. Despite the fact that the tournament was hampered by torrential rains it nevertheless was an important material manifestation of the aristocracy's desire to return to the chivalry of a past era.

Although chivalry was primarily an upper class ideal during the 1830s, it was filtered down to the middle classes through the writings of Thomas Carlyle. To Carlyle, chivalry was not a means by which to keep the upper classes in power, but a moral and ethical idea which was the responsibility of every person to uphold. As Debra Mancoff noted in the writings of Carlyle: "the virtues of faith, energy, discipline, and compassion knew no class distinction."[27]

In high art, the Arthurian theme was popularized in William Dyce's commission (1848-64) to decorate the Queen's Robing Room, in the House of Lords, in the new Palace of Westminster. The fire of 1834, which destroyed the old Palace, meant that a total reconstruction was necessary. The design competition for the new palace was won by Charles Barry and A.W.N. Pugin. Their Gothic building was felt to be an appropriate expression of English nationalism. Although Dyce used Malory as the main source for his program, he united his medieval characters with modern ideas of heroism.[28] For example, in his work dealing with

the virtue of courtesy, Dyce communicated the message that "the modern-day gentleman, well versed in the doctrines of chivalry, was as respectful of social grace as of the rules of aggressive competition."[29] Dyce chose to portray Courtesy as a Tristram playing a harp to an enchanted maiden. This image developed the idea that Tristram was equally a musician and a warrior, and that the gentle arts were as important as the soldiering skills.[30] Nineteenth century audiences clearly respected proper social behaviour. In Mercy, Gawaine is brought to trial for his act of beheading an innocent woman in a rage. His fate is decided by the Queen and her court who sentence him to serve those whom he had injured. Since Gawaine was a man of honour, he accepted the judgement from the women and reinforced the message that service to the Queen was important. Once Dyce's commission established the Arthurian legends as an appropriate pictorial subject, with political and social values, the theme became very popular. The Westminster commission was approved by Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Queen's husband, praised by Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy, and supported by artists such as Maclise, who were also involved with the project.

During the period of work on the Westminster frescoes, the important illustrated edition of The Book of British Ballads was published. This two volume anthology (edited by Hall) contained historical ballads which were prefaced with short essays. Hall tightly controlled the book by selecting the artists himself as well as the poems that they were responsible for illustrating.[31] The artists he chose for the book included John Franklin, John Tenniel, W.P. Frith, William Bell Scott, John Gilbert, Edward Corbould, Richard Dadd and Joseph Noel Paton. Each artist was required to submit his designs for approval before drawing the designs directly onto the woodblock for printing purposes.

Hall followed the German model of book illustration which had been popularized by Albrecht Dürer.[32] In other words, he wanted to use "high" art conventions in an illustrative format. Such conventions included heroic figures and dramatic effects with a correct sense of composition, depth and perspective. The volume was organized according to a strict aesthetic formula. Each poem was preceded by a concise two page essay. The title page of the poem included an image which suggested the mood of the poem, and took approximately two thirds of the page.[33] Just under this image, on the left, was a smaller image which was situated opposite the first stanza of the poem, placed in the bottom right hand corner of the title page. In the middle of the poem, near the point of inspiration, was a vertical image running the length of the page and framed with a decorative border. Since each poem was governed by the exact same layout, the overall volume achieved a unified effect despite the fact that it included work by a number of different artists. Interestingly enough, however, Hall's control of the book extended to the stylistic tendencies of the artists. A Dürer prototype was the model which the artists were expected to emulate.[34] They consistently sought to achieve a classical, yet monumental image. Composition, depth, foreshortening, unity and strength of line were all contributing factors.[35] Finally, it should be noted that the two poems in The Book of British Ballads which were Arthurian were treated in the same style as the rest of the subjects.

Of course, as stated earlier, it should be stressed that there had been illustrated texts of Arthurian material prior to the nineteenth century. During medieval times manuscript illuminations were the most common form of illustration. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a rising number of manuscripts produced as luxury items for the wealthy and powerful. Once the Gothic Revival began there were a number of

archaeologically based books which appeared on the market. In this genre, some of the most notable examples included Joseph Nash's A Series of Views Illustrative of Pugin's Example of Gothic Architecture (1830), James Planche's History of British Costume (1834), Henry Shaw's Specimens of Ancient Furniture Drawn form Existing Authorities (1836) and Fredrick William Fairholt's Costume in England (1846). These works were important because they provided more factual and historical accounts of the Middle Ages which were not only illustrative but analytical as well. These earlier Victorian renditions of the Arthurian theme provided the basic context for Tennyson's Arthurian poems, which actively moved away from past representations of Arthur. Rather than concentrating on the historical, Tennyson focused on the spiritual and the affective elements. This alternative approach to the subject of Arthur allowed for a new avenue of illustration as well. Previously, the images selected to accompany the literature were conventional in nature. Events described in the text were recreated in line and positioned near the point of inspiration. Due to the influence of the painted depictions, Arthurian illustrations tended to be grand and dramatic, and largely based on heroic acts.

Tennyson, however, placed his focus on the emotional aspects of the legends and hence gave his illustrators a new challenge as was evident in the Moxon Tennyson. Although only four poems dealt directly with Arthurian content (one making reference to the Arthurian cycle) they inspired images which explored a new way of approaching the topic. Rather than functioning as an appendage to the text, the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations acted as a separate yet equal art form. The three artists who illustrated Arthurian subjects (Rossetti, Hunt, and Maclise) not only had different styles but each had his own idea about the role of the illustrator. Maclise, an academic artist, was considered the most

conservative whereas Rossetti was the most innovative.

Turning to consider Rossetti's illustrations, we note that his Lady of Shalott (figure 5) was inspired by Tennyson's lines: "She had a lovely face;/God in her mercy lend her grace" (ll. 169-170). However, in his illustration Rossetti concentrated on Lancelot rather than the Lady of Shalott. He is depicted leaning over her body in silent contemplation as the boat she lies in is moored at the Palace of Camelot. Quite unlike Hunt's illustration of The Lady of Shalott, which focuses on the moment of greatest action, or even chaos, as the loom springs apart, Rossetti chose to illustrate an emotional state. The noisy figures in the background contrast with the meditative state of Lancelot and that of the Lady of Shalott who rests peacefully in death.

Rossetti also focused on the emotional in his Sir Galahad (figure 4) where he was inspired to illustrate the third stanza:

> When down the stormy crescent goes,
> A light before me swims,
> Between dark stems the forest glows,
> I hear a noise of hymns.
> Then by some secret shrine I ride;
> I hear a voice, but none are there;
> The stalls are void, the doors are wide,
> The tapers burning fair.
> Fair gleams the snowy altar-cloth,
> The silver vessels sparkle clean,
> The shrill bell rings, the censer swings,
> And solemn chaunts resound between.
> (ll. 24-36)

In his illustration Rossetti depicted Sir Galahad at the shrine, again in a state of contemplation. He hears the bells and chants though no voices "are there." Significantly, Rossetti chose to include four beautiful women who are not seen by Sir Galahad. These women are not mentioned in the poem yet play an important part in Rossetti's illustration. It is interesting that although this illustration perhaps contains the most extraneous material when compared to its poetic source, it was his least

criticised illustration.

By choosing to illustrate passages which were ambiguous in detail and undefined in nature, Rossetti was able to follow his own philosophy of "allegorizing." This is also evident in his illustration, The Death of Arthur (figure 2) which differs from that of other illustrators such as Maclise. Rossetti's illustration is part of "The Palace of Art" and draws on a reference to the death of King Arthur who can hardly been seen in the illustration. Rather than focusing on Arthur, Rossetti fills the page with the weeping Queens who respond with various reactions of grief. These idealized Queens, all similar in appearance, provide Rossetti with a vehicle to study the psychological states of love and death. Maclise, on the other hand, chose to stay close to the text in his designs for "Morte d'Arthur." In both of his illustrations, King Arthur is the focal point of the image and the static quality of his figures reveals little emotion. Instead, the death is recorded as an event. It should be noted that such vast differences in illustration were permitted by Moxon who was less restrictive than Hall had been in his The Book of British Ballads. There were no directions from Moxon specifying what the illustrations should look like or what role they should play in the book. There were no margin images or small header or footer vignettes. Rather, the illustrations were physically separated from the text, in the sense that they did not merge with the text, nor were the text pages decorated with an illustrative connective border. The simple presentation of the book was quite unlike Hall's.

Another edition of Tennyson's poetry was considered for an illustrated edition in 1866. Edward Moxon and Co. commenced a project to illustrate Idylls of the King and hired the French illustrator Gustave Doré to complete 36 steel engravings. Doré's previous images for Dante's Inferno (1861), Don Quixote (1862), and the Bible in 1866 had proven

popular with English audiences. Doré was requested to provide nine pen, ink and wash drawings for each of the four Idylls which were to be published individually. Enid, Vivien, and Guenevere came out in 1867, and Elaine in 1868. Moxon and Co. hired British engravers for the project. The illustrations were placed near the passages of inspiration and given captions which summarized the scene. Each poem also was accompanied by a frontispiece illustration. This book is important because not only were the illustrations separate from the text, as in the Moxon Tennyson, but Doré's designs also focus on the emotional, which was a precedent set by the Moxon Tennyson. Doré's designs were similar to the Pre-Raphaelites' in that he regarded the illustrations and poetry as equally important. Henry Green would later write that:

> To Tennyson's exquisite poem of Elaine, Gustave Doré conjoins those wonderful drawings which are themselves poetic; he gives us a book of emblems - Tennyson is the one **artist** that out of the **gold** of his own soul fashioned a **vase incorruptible**, and Doré is the **second artist** who placed about it ornaments of beauty, fashioned also out of the riches of his mind.[36]

Rather than stressing the action, as in The Book of British Ballads, or the soul as in the Moxon Tennyson, Doré chose to convey the mood of the poem. Melancholy in tone, yet dramatic in approach, Doré's illustrations concentrated more on the landscape than on the figures. The figures filled a small portion of the illustration in comparison to the landscape surrounding them. Doré also chose to illustrate passages not normally considered "orthodox" in that they were not action sequences. Moreover, he chose incidental events or occurrences which did not summarize the main context of the poem.[37]

If we compare Doré's The Body of Elaine on Its Way to King Arthur's

Palace (figure 19) with Rossetti's The Death of Arthur (figure 2), it becomes apparent that both artists have chosen to reflect on the emotional quality of death rather than the act itself. Doré's illustration focuses on a very specific line in "Elaine": "the dead,/Oar'd by the dumb" (ll. 1146-47). Resembling Rossetti, Doré avoids summarizing Tennyson's poems. It might be recalled that Rossetti also drew his inspiration from a single line of Tennyson for his image of The Death of Arthur (figure 2). Doré's illustrated edition was well received and in 1868 it was reprinted in a consolidated edition of all four Idylls. A gift edition was also published. The popularity of the illustrations by Doré was due in part to the Arthurian works which preceded them, especially those by the Pre-Raphaelites in the Moxon Tennyson.

As a subject in the visual arts, the Arthurian cycle underwent many changes, moving from a more action-orientated approach to a more emotional analysis. The Pre-Raphaelites challenged the previous forms and functions of Arthurian illustration. The fact that Rossetti chose to illustrate three Arthurian subjects is evidence of his fondness for the subject and its importance to him as a vehicle for expression. Since the Arthurian Legends came with a long history of interpretation, they were a suitable subject for Rossetti to "allegorize." They were also a favourite of Tennyson's. His interpretations of the legends focused on the emotional and inspired the Pre-Raphaelites to develop this aspect of the Arthurian legends.

NOTES

[1]Debra N. Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1990):4. Mancoff defined the "Arthurian Revival" as being that period, beginning around 1840, and corresponding to the Victorian era, when Arthurian images, and an Arthurian "spirit" were in vogue.

[2]Prior to the Moxon Tennyson, The Book of British Ballads (London: J.How, 1842) contained many Arthurian images by John Gilbert, John Franklin and Edward Corbould. Millais contributed an illustration of Tristram to Once a Week in 1862, and James Archer's engraving of King Arthur appeared in the Art Journal in April of 1871. Gustave Doré illustrated Tennyson's Idylls of the King in 1868 (published by Edward Moxon and Company). In painting, F.G. Stevens completed his Morte D'Arthur in 1849 and Hunt began his prelimary sketches for his The Lady of Shalott in 1850. Elizabeth Siddal sketched her The Lady of Shallott in 1853, and Rossetti completed King Arthur's Tomb in 1855. The Oxford Murals of 1857-59 by Rossetti and William Riviere (Arthur's First Victory With the Sword, 1859) contained Arthurian themes. William Morris painted Queen Quenevere in 1858, Burne-Jones Sir Galahad in 1858 and Arthur Hughes The Rift in the Lute by 1862. Also painted during this time are Henry Wallis' Elaine (1861), Ford Madox Brown's The Death of Sir Tristram (1864), James Archer's La Mort d'Arthur (1861), Arthur Hughes' The Knight of the Sun (1860), Joseph Noel Paton's The Death Barge of Arthur (1862), John Mullaster Carrick's Morte d'Arthur (1862), and George Frederick Watts' Sir Galahad (1862).

[3]Muriel Whitaker, "The Illustration of Arthurian Romance," King Arthur Through the Ages ed. Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990):II, 123.

[4]Debra N. Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, p. 251.

[5]For further information on Wynkyn de Worde see Muriel Whitaker's "The Illustration of Arthurian Romance," p. 130.

[6]This was a substantial book being 358 pages long and illustrated by 27 artists. An artist who contributed many designs was John Franklin who was fond of chivalrous themes and also a spectator at the Eglinton Tournament, see Mark Girouard, The Return to Camelot, p. 107.

[7]Debra Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, chapter eight.

[8]Ibid., p. 257.

[9]Helmut Gernsheim, Julia Margaret Cameron: Her Life and Photographic Work (New York: Millerton, 1975). Tennyson is said to have been unhappy with Doré's illustrations and went to Cameron asking, "Will you think it a trouble to illustrate my Idylls for me?" See also Muriel Whitaker, "The Illustration of Arthurian Romance," p. 135.

[10]Debra N. Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art, p. 260. John Dent published Le Morte Darthur in 1893-4. He produced an inexpensive volume by hiring Beardsley, who, at that time, was inexperienced, and therefore demanded a lesser sum. Dent kept production costs low by using

a photomechanical process rather than hand-engraved blocks. Two versions of the book were produced: a deluxe edition and an "economy" version which was one third of the price of the deluxe. The book proved very lucrative.

[11]For further information about Crane, see Muriel Whitaker, "The Illustration of Arthurian Romance," p. 141. The images of Arthur were popularized in a number of illustrated books. One of the best selling volumes was J.T. Knowles The Story of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table, illustrated by G.H. Thomas. This book ran through three editions in total and disseminated the images of Arthur to a younger readership. The Medici Society also published a four volume edition of Malory's Morte Darthur (London: 1910-11) with 48 watercolours by Sir William Russell Flint. Also of interest are Arthur Rackham's sinister depictions of this theme in the 1917 edition of Morte Darthur.

[12]The twelfth century saw a major peak in Arthurian interest which was unmatched until the nineteenth century. Charles Moorman speculates that the popularity of the Arthurian legends in the twelfth century was initiated, in part, with the violent events in the British Isles at that time,including the Norman invasion (1066) and the Battle of Hastings. He argues that the Arthurian stories were a response to these military upheavals as they dealt with themes of the preservation of beliefs and values, as well as the protection of identity. Charles Moorman, "Literature of Defeat and Conquest: The Arthurian Revival of the Twelfth Century," King Arthur Through the Ages, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1990):I, 22-55. For additional information about Arthur, see Geoffrey Ash, The Discovery of King Arthur (Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1985) and Elisabeth Brewer and Beverly Taylor, The Return of King Arthur: British and American Arthurian Literature Since 1800 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983).

[13]Gildas, De excidio Brittanniane (The Ruin of Britain), trans. and ed. Michael Winterbottom, Vol. VII of History from the Sources, (Chicherster, England: Phillimore, 1978). See also Jennifer R. Goodman, The Legend of Arthur in British and American Literature. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988):53.

[14]Ibid. See also Jennifer R. Goodman, p. 18.

[15]Jean Frappier, Chretien de Troyes (Paris: Hatien, 1857) and Jennifer R. Goodman, The Legend of Arthur, p. 22.

[16]Eugene Vinaver, The Rise of Romance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971):730.

[17]Jennifer R. Goodman, The Legend of Arthur, p. 53.

[18]Both Tennyson and Rossetti owned copies of Malory's Morte Darthur, which they referred to often. Ford Madox Hueffer went so far as to say that Tennyson attempted "to use Malory's world as an allegory of the nineteenth century itself." Ford Madox Hueffer, Rossetti: A Critical Essay on His Art (London: Champman and Hall, 1896):122.

[19]Jennifer R. Goodman, The Legend of Arthur, p. 74.

[20]Debra Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, p. xix.

[21]Ibid., p. 29.

[22]Ibid., p. 32.

[23]Richard Hurd, Letters on Chivalry and Romance (London: H. Frowde, 1911).

[24]Richard Hurd as quoted in Debra N. Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art, p. 36.

[25]Thomas Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry 3 Volumes (London: 1765).

[26]For more information on The Eglinton Tournament see Mark Girouard, The Return to Camelot, chapter seven.

[27]Debra Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, p. 55.

[28]Dyce's program of seven frescoes were as follows: Religion: The Vision of Sir Galahad and His Company, Generosity: King Arthur Unhorsed Spared by Launcelot, Courtesy: Sir Tristram Harping to La Beale Isound, Mercy: Sir Gawaine Swearing to Be Merciful and Never Be against Ladies, Hospitality: The Admission of Sir Tristram to the Fellowship of the Round Table, Courage: The Combat Between King Arthur, Sir Key, Sir Gawaine, and Sir Griflet with Five Northern Kings, and Fidelity: Sir Launcelot's Rescue of the Queen Guenevere from Ming Meliagraunce. The frescoes dealing with the allegories of courage and fidelity were not completed due to Dyce's death.

[29]Debra Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, p. 130.

[30]Ibid., Chapter 4. (Mancoff discusses this scenario and others.)

[31]Hall's book only contained poems by poets who were deceased so, unlike Moxon, he did not have to worry about the poet's involvement or approval.

[32]William Vaughan, German Romanticism and English Art (New Haven: York University Press, 1979):123-76. S.C. Hall, Retrospective of a Long Life from 1815 to 1883 (New York: D. Appleton, 1883):191. Hall said that the book was inspired by the German edition of "Niebelungen-lied."

[33]S.C. Hall, Retrospective, p. 191.

[34]William Vaughan, German Romanticism, p. 57.

[35]Debra Mancoff, The Arthurian Revival, p. 109.

[36]Henry Green, Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers: An Exposition of Their Similarities of Thought and Expression (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969):30.

[37]Doré did not read English which might have hampered his interpretation of the poems.

Chapter Six: Tennyson

The Moxon Tennyson bound the Pre-Raphaelites' illustrations and Tennyson's poetry together, forever. Though the Moxon Tennyson initially sold poorly, sales substantially increased at Routledge's reduced price, which eventually exposed the Pre-Raphaelites to a large audience. The reviews also mentioned the Pre-Raphaelites individually which enhanced their artistic profile. In this chapter I will explore the following questions: Why were the Pre-Raphaelites chosen to illustrate the Moxon Tennyson and who chose them? What was their association with Tennyson, professionally and personally, and how, if at all, did it affect their illustrations? How did Tennyson respond to the illustrations? Was interest in the book heightened by the presence of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations? Finally, who profited: Tennyson, the Pre-Raphaelites, or Moxon? In dealing with these questions, it will become evident that the association of Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites was beneficial to both parties despite the initial problems.

In piecing together documentation from various sources, it seems that Tennyson himself selected the Pre-Raphaelites and had shown interest in a collaborative project. However, it was Moxon who felt that an illustrated edition to Tennyson would be easy to produce and profitable.

> As you have an idea of purchasing your house if you can get together the requisite amount, you cannot in my opinion do better than allow me to bring out an illustrated edition of your poems. I could by this means I am almost sure, & within a very short time too, put into your pocket at least a couple of thousand pounds.[1]

The next month, Moxon was already recruiting his artistic staff. After visiting Landseer, Mulready, Creswick and Millais, Moxon observed that

"as soon as the above artists have selected their subjects it is my intention to call upon Stanfield, Maclise, Horsley, and Frost - all excellent in their respective lines, and all men who can draw on wood."[2] At this point the Pre-Raphaelites were not included, with the exception of Millais, who at this time was an Associate Member of the Royal Academy. Therefore, the involvement of Hunt and Rossetti was not part of Moxon's original plan. Perhaps, significantly, it was Tennyson who first mentioned Hunt's inclusion in a letter from May 1854 to Emily Sellwood Tennyson:

> I called on Moxon and we went round to the artist Creswick, a capital broad genial fellow; Mulready, an old man who was full of vivacity and showed me lots of his drawings and one or two of his pictures. Then on to Horsley who was likewise very amiable and said that I was the painter's poet, etc., then on to Millais, who has agreed to come down in a month's time and take little Hallam as an illustration of 'Dora.' Sir E. Landseer I did not call upon and Holman Hunt was out of town.

June Steffensen Hagen suggests that Ruskin may have been the motivating force behind the decision to include Rossetti and Hunt, since Tennyson and Ruskin were friends. Certainly Emily Tennyson promoted the inclusion of the Pre-Raphaelites in suggesting Elizabeth Siddal to Moxon as an illustrator. She felt so strongly on the matter that she stressed that she would rather "pay for Miss S's designs herself than not have them in the book."[3] Nevertheless, Siddal was not included as Moxon indicated in a letter to Tennyson asserting that he had decided against Miss Siddal. However, in the same letter he "welcomed" the suggestion put forth by Tennyson that Woolner's medallion serve as the frontispiece to the book.[4] Arthur Hughes may also have been approached since Allingham wrote to him in October of 1854: "I can't compete with Tennyson - but you and Rossetti

can easily with Millais, who is to draw for Moxon's forthcoming edition."[5] Ford Madox Brown's name was put forth by Hunt, as indicated by Rossetti's comment in a letter to Moxon: "Nothing would please me better than that Mr. Madox Brown should do the "Vision of Sin," as I hear Hunt proposed to you...His name ought by all means to be in the work."[6] Evidently, Madox Brown felt slighted by being asked too late. In his words: "I did object to take part in the Tennyson work; but that was because Moxon came to me too late, when I would have had to hurry over the work at a disadvantage to my reputation in comparison with the other artists engaged."[7] Obviously, Moxon had heeded Hunt's request concerning Madox Brown but Moxon, at this time, was also looking for another illustrator to complete additional designs. Moxon was already having difficulties with Rossetti and was concerned that Rossetti would not be able to complete the design for "Vision of Sin," which he had originally agreed upon. In the end, Rossetti failed to provide an illustration for "Vision of Sin" and this did not go unnoticed by the reviewers.

Tennyson's correspondence rarely alluded to the illustrated edition but, as we have seen, he did in fact take enough interest in the project to meet the various artists who participated. This in itself is noteworthy given that Tennyson did not favour illustrated editions, especially of his poetry, since he felt "they never seemed to him to illustrate his own ideas," and since he preferred his poetry in a simple, clean format, uncluttered by artwork.[8] And yet, despite the fact that he had met the artists, once the edition was completed Tennyson showed little interest in accepting Moxon's gift of the illustrations. Moxon wrote in response to Emily Tennyson:

> I am sorry to hear that with few exceptions you would not care to have the illustrations as a gift. All I can say is that neither labour nor expense has been spared in the

> getting up of the book - the best artists have been employed, and for the designs and engraving alone I have paid upwards of £1500.[9]

Allingham wrote to William Michael Rossetti after the Moxon Tennyson was published that Tennyson "praised the P.R.B. designs to his poems in a general way but cares nothing about the whole affair."[10]

The association between Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites took many forms. The first and most obvious was the Pre-Raphaelites' admiration for Tennyson's early poetry. While still at Oxford, Hunt defended Tennyson when very few scholars even considered Tennyson a poet.[11] In their manifesto, they listed Tennyson as one of the 57 "Immortals" who constituted the whole of their "Creed."[12] The Pre-Raphaelites generally favoured those works Tennyson published prior to 1850 which were sensuous and medieval in nature. A second connection emerged when critics compared Pre-Raphaelite poetry to that of Tennyson noticing their similar emotional qualities and meter experimentation, as well as their shared regard for nature. Furthermore, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood magazine, the Germ, published poetry in a style which was clearly shaped by Tennyson. A third association between the Pre-Raphaelites and Tennyson was created by Moxon himself. Moxon was considered to be a "publisher of poets" and the Moxon Tennyson created an enduring association between Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites. The works which the Pre-Raphaelites illustrated aroused the most controversy and therefore established a firm connection between the poet and painters, at least in the eyes of the press.

The bond between the Pre-Raphaelites and Tennyson can be documented chronologically, beginning around 1849. It was in that year that Coventry Patmore persuaded Tennyson to sit for a medallion bust by Woolner. Thereafter, Tennyson became acquainted with the Pre-Raphaelite

circle, including Patmore, Allingham and Valentine Prinseps and attended their dinners and exhibitions. Tennyson seems to have become interested in their art in 1850 when he saw Millais's painting The Woodman's Daughter. Rossetti had first written to Tennyson, asking for a critique of his version of Dante's Vita Nuova. Tennyson replied that Gabriel's verse was "very strong and earnest."[13] It was also at this time that Hunt sketched his first Lady of Shalott. In 1851 Millais painted Mariana much to Tennyson's "delight."[14] Spurred on by the success of this picture, Millais started work on A Huguenot which was inspired by Tennyson's verse: "Two lovers whispering by a garden wall." During this period the Tennysons invited Millais to Chapel House. They met again in October of 1852 when Tennyson admired both Millais's painting and his morally didactic approach to contemporary issues. At this time, Holman Hunt was suggested as an illustrator for Edward Lear's book of Tennyson's poems. Lear, Hunt's roommate, wrote in a letter to Emily Tennyson that Hunt "knows all Alfred's poems by heart."[15] In 1853, when Tennyson began to discuss the possibility of an illustrated edition with Millais, he voiced his wish to have the Pre-Raphaelites design the majority of the images.[16] The following year Tennyson and Moxon met Millais to discuss this project further. In a letter later that year Millais remarked to Tennyson that he had "some questions I wish to ask you about the poems I am to illustrate."[17] Millias also wrote to Effie in July of 1854 that he was about to begin work on his "Tennyson illustration."[18] In October of 1854 Millais visited Tennyson's home and sketched Hallam, Emily and Tennyson.[19] The sketch of Hallam eventually became his illustration to "Dora." In 1855 when Rossetti was invited to contribute to the Moxon Tennyson he requested that Elizabeth Siddal participate as well. As already noted, Emily Tennyson supported the inclusion of Siddal. Rossetti sketched Tennyson during a visit with the Brownings in 1855. It

is there that he captured Tennyson while reading "Maud." After this meeting Rossetti wrote to Allingham declaring that Tennyson was "quite as glorious in his way as Browning [was] in his, and perhaps of the two even more impressive on the whole personally."[20]

In 1856 Tennyson invited Hunt to visit Farringford through their mutual friend Woolner. Hunt was honoured by the invitation, and on his arrival presented Tennyson with a gift of the poet's favourite Latakia tobacco. Hunt also socialized with Tennyson at the Camerons' house in Roehampton. Tennyson's interest in the Pre-Raphaelite art took him to the Manchester Exhibition in the summer of 1857 where he admired and studied Hunt's works.[21] Thereafter, Hunt was invited to spend Christmas with the Tennysons at Farringford. Hunt visited the Tennysons again in 1858 and they vacationed together in Penzance for several weeks in 1860. When Woolner acquired Lorenzo and Isabella, Emily congratulated Woolner on his "new Millais work."[22]

Of all the Pre-Raphaelites, Tennyson seemed closest to Millais. As we have seen, he appreciated his style of work, as well as his moral and didactic approach to contemporary issues. It is significant that Millais was the only Pre-Raphaelite who discussed his images with Tennyson and wished to adhere to the poet's desires. Furthermore, Millais was also a close friend of Edward Lear, and Thomas Woolner, who in turn, were friends of the Tennysons. Emily Tennyson often wrote of Millais in her letters to Woolner. Certainly, the Tennysons were happy that Millais approved of using the Woolner medallion of Tennyson in the Moxon edition. In the same spirit, they solicited Woolner's opinion of Millais' illustration: "Have you seen any of the illustrations? I long to hear what you think of them. Some of Millais's seem to us very fine."[23]

There is no doubt that the Pre-Raphaelites benefited tremendously from their association with the Poet Laureate. This relationship made

the Pre-Raphaelites seem more acceptable to the critics and the general public alike. Before the critics became aware of what the initials, P.R.B. inserted after their painted signatures stood for, their works were considered individually rather than as a group. For instance, before Frank Stone knew that The Girlhood of the Mary Virgin (1850) was a Pre-Raphaelite work, he found it praiseworthy. However, once he learned of Rossetti's association with the Pre-Raphaelites he changed his tone.[24] His writings indicate that he was privy to the Pre-Raphaelite doctrine and that he disapproved of the group's intentions.

> What shall we say of a work ... which we notice less for its merits than as an example of the perversion of talent which has recently been making so much way in our school of art, and wasting the energies of some of our most promising aspirants? We allude to the Ecce Ancilla Domini of Mr. D.G. Rossetti. Here a certain amount of talent is distorted from its legitimate course by a prominent crotchet. Ignoring all that has made the art great in the works of the greatest master, the school to which Mr. Rossetti belongs would begin the work anew, and accompany the faltering steps of its earliest explorers. This is archaeology turned from its legitimate uses, and made into a mere pendant. Setting at nought all the advanced principles of light and shade, colour, and composition, these men, professing to look only to Nature in its truth and simplicity, are the slavish imitators of artistic inefficiency.[25]

The Spectator and Illustrated London News both described the Pre-Raphaelites as a new school of art. In the latter's column, "Town Talk and Table Talk" by Angus B. Reach, the Brotherhood's aims were discussed:

> Has any casual reader of art-criticism ever been puzzled by the

> occurrence of three mysterious letters as denoting a new fashioned-school or style in painting lately come into vogue? The hieroglyphics in question are 'P.R.B.,' and they are the initials of the words 'Pre-Raffaelite Brotherhood' To this league belong the ingenious gentlemen who profess themselves practitioners of 'Early Christian Art,' and who - setting aside the Medieval schools of Italy, the Raffaelles, Guidos, and Titians, and all such small-beer daubers - devote their energies to the reproduction of saints squeezed out perfectly flat - as though the poor gentlemen had been martyred by being passed under a Baker's Patent...[26]

The worst assault came from Charles Dickens in Household Words on March 30th, 1850, who, in this excerpt, discussed Millais's Christ in the House of His Parents.

> You come - in this Royal Academy Exhibition ... to the contemplation of a Holy Family. You will have the goodness to discharge from your minds all Post-Raphael ideas, all religious aspirations, all elevating thoughts; all tender, awful, sorrowful, ennobling, sacred, graceful, or beautiful associations; and to prepare yourselves, as befits such a subject - Pre-Raphaelly considered - for the lowest depths of what is mean, odious, repulsive, and revolting.

The critics attacked the Pre-Raphaelites because they seemed to criticize not only English art, but also English morals and religion. The Pre-Raphaelites' preference for an "Early Italian" style (as opposed to contemporary English art) presented difficulties for the critics. "The name seemed to imply, the critics believed, that they [the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood] arrogantly regarded themselves as greater than Raphael himself, and that they looked on all post-Raphael art as valueless."[27]

Critics were also upset by Millais's association with the Pre-Raphaelites since Millais was one of the most talented and respected artists in England. If Millais (who had been a favorite at the Royal Academy) decided to discard British values and aesthetics in favour of an "Early Italian" style then he was indeed a threat to be dealt with quickly and severely. The poor reviews of 1850 must have discouraged the buyers. The Pre-Raphaelites did not sell any works except for Millais's The Carpenter Shop which, although it had already been pre-sold, had to be lowered in price in order to close the deal.

The attacks by the press affected the Pre-Raphaelites both personally and professionally. Between 1850 and 1855 they had slowly been gaining a following which was, in part, fostered by the support of John Ruskin, one of the most influential art critics at the time. Ultimately, however, the harsh public reaction to the group splintered the Pre-Raphaelites: Millais joined the Royal Academy, Hunt went off to paint religious works in Palestine, while only Rossetti remained as the figurehead of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement.[28] In spite of such difficulties, Tennyson effectively offered the Pre-Raphaelites a "partnership" to which he contributed a solidly acceptable public reputation as well as acknowledgement from the monarchy as the poet laureate, a leading symbol of English creativity.[29] Through such an alliance the "threat" of the Pre-Raphaelite movement was lessened.

The Pre-Raphaelites' first public association with Tennyson was made by the Critic editor, Edward William Cox, in a review of the Germ in 1850. Discussing the contents of the magazine he noted the influence of Tennyson:

> It is all beautiful, much of it of extraordinary merit, and equal to anything that any of our known poets could write, save Tennyson, of whom the strains sometimes remind us,

> although they are not imitations in any sense of the word.[30]

The Pre-Raphaelites' poetic style was similar to Tennyson's early works.[31] Hunt, Millais, Woolner and Rossetti appreciated the poet's fidelity to nature, the descriptive quality of his writing, his use of contemporary subjects, and his defence of moral standards. Rossetti also adopted Tennyson's sensuous undercurrent, as well as his historical, medieval and allegorical images. Certainly Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites could trace their stylistic roots to John Keats and Samuel Coleridge and other Romantic poets whom they admired. In particular, Keats and Coleridge were able to interpret the spirit of the Middle Ages which fascinated Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites. Keats's "Isabella" and "The Eve of St. Agnes" first inspired Hunt, who painted Isabella and the Pot of Basil and The Flight of Madeline and Porphyro in response to these poems. He also read these works to Millais and Rossetti.

While Tennyson was certainly an inspiration to the Pre-Raphaelites, the reverse cannot be asserted. Tennyson did not look to the fine arts for inspiration and there is only one reference in his verse to a visual source when he referred to the hues in the Titianic Flora in "The Gardener's Daughter." However, Tennyson showed some interest in the Pre-Raphaelites' aesthetic, although he did not agree with their views on realism. In 1854 he discussed "the limits of realism" with Millais. Tennyson is said to have "hated the modern realism in painting and literature." He did not agree with the Pre-Raphaelite tendency to elevate nature to the same level as the human element. He felt that the figural component was more important than the background element.

> If you have human beings before a wall, the wall ought to be picturesquely painted, and not to be made too obtrusive by the bricks being too minutely drawn, since it is

> the human beings that ought to have
> the real interest for us in a
> dramatic subject picture.[32]

Catherine Barnes Stevenson points out that if this comment was made in reference to Millais's A Huguenot, it was most likely drawn from the reviews of this work at that time. It should be noted that the critics did not find Millais's painting praiseworthy except for those at Punch and the Spectator, the latter having William Rossetti on its staff. Certainly, Tennyson echoed the critics' concern regarding the lack of narration in A Huguenot. For instance, David Masson, in the British Quarterly Review discussed the Pre-Raphaelites' obsession with detail:

> The greatest principle...which became
> the bond of their union, was that
> they should go to Nature in all cases
> and employ, as exactly as possible,
> her literal forms...If they were to
> paint a brick wall as part of the
> background of a picture, their notion
> was that they should...take some
> actual brick wall and paint it
> exactly as it was, with all its
> seams, lichens, and weather-stains.[33]

Tennyson spoke very little about his views on art, yet from the brief discussion with Millais already cited, it is evident that he would have found Rossetti's images of the Moxon Tennyson overly detailed. We know that he was pleased with Millais's work which was characterised by simple clean lines and very little detail, and which in the case of the Moxon Tennyson, remained close to the poet's words.

Tennyson told Hunt that he was always "interested" in his paintings and that the Moxon designs "strongly engaged" his attention. However, Hunt's The Lady of Shalott troubled Tennyson somewhat. Hunt recalled defending his work to Tennyson who asked: "Why did you make the Lady of Shalott, in the illustration, with her hair wildly tossed about as if by

a tornado?" Hunt replied that he had intended to

> indicate the extra natural character of the curse that had fallen upon her disobedience by reversing the ordinary peace of the room and of the lady herself; that while she recognised that the moment of the catastrophe had come, the spectator might also understand it.

This did not satisfy Tennyson who protested: "But I didn't say that her hair was blown about like that." He then went on to ask: "Why did you make the web wind round and round her like the threads of a cocoon?" Hunt exclaimed "Now surely that may be justified, for you say - 'Out flew the web and floated wide!'" Tennyson was still unhappy: "But I did not say it floated round and round her." To this Hunt replied that he "had only half a page on which to convey the impression of weird fate, whereas you use about fifteen pages to give expression to the complete idea." Tennyson then declared that the illustrator should not add anything to the text and brought up his concern about Cophetua: "Why did you make Cophetua leading the beggar maid up a flight of steps...I never spoke of a flight of steps." Again Hunt defended himself:

> But don't you say -
> 'In robe and crown
> The King stepped down,
> To meet and greet her
> On her way'

Hunt continued, "You do not enough allow for the difference of requirement in our two arts...in mine it is needful to trace the end from the beginning in one representation, you can dispense with such imitation."[34] We know from Emily Tennyson that she and Tennyson liked Millais's contributions to the Moxon Tennyson but that Rossetti's perplexed the poet. Rossetti wrote to William Morris that "Tennyson loathes mine" in reference to his illustrations;[35] however, William

Rossetti wrote to his mother:

> Tennyson has been back since Friday and took the trouble of looking me up on Saturday...He and his wife like Gabriel's Arthur Watched by Weeping Queens as well as, or better than, any other illustration in the edition.[36]

William also acknowledged that Tennyson was puzzled with the St. Cecilia illustration and "had to give up the problem of what it had to do with his verses." Mr. Marillier, a Pre-Raphaelite historian, commented that Tennyson "liked the second design for 'The Palace of Art' the best of any in the book."[37]

As discussed earlier, Tennyson profited from the edition, receiving the sum of £4769 12s 0d. Rossetti also profited, not only in terms of obtaining the highest designing fee, but because the Moxon Tennyson gave Rossetti exposure he had previously not enjoyed. He even sold subsequent work due to his contributions to the illustrated edition. As late as 1876 a collector by the name of W.A. Turner bought Vision of Fiammetta from Rossetti. Rossetti explained to Jane Morris that Turner was:

> A real lover of my work and told me that very early in life he got wildly enamoured of my illustrations in Tennyson, and swore that if he could ever buy pictures he would buy mine.[38]

Rossetti's reputation was also enhanced by his association with the Moxon Tennyson, for Ruskin mentioned the Moxon Tennyson in his The Elements of Drawing (1857) and noted that the book "contained woodcuts from drawing by Rossetti and other Pre-Raphaelite masters." Millais continued his excellence in illustration after the Moxon Tennyson through his association with the magazines Once a Week, Cornhill Magazine and Good

Words, and went on to become one of England's most prolific illustrators. Thus, Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites all profited from the Moxon Tennyson in different ways. Even Moxon benefited, although posthumously, for the Moxon Tennyson became his best known work.

NOTES

[1]Letter from Moxon to Tennyson, 11 January 1854, in the Tennyson Research Centre as cited in June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979:100.

[2]Letter from Moxon to Tennyson, 27 February 1854. June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, pp. 102-103.

[3]Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham 1850-1870 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897):111.

[4]Tennyson Research Centre letter as cited in June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 103.

[5].H.G. Merriam, Edward Moxon: Publisher of Poets (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939):183.

[6]Letter from Rossetti to Edward Moxon, 1856. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti ed. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965):I, 316.

[7]Ford Madox Brown to W.M. Rossetti. Martin Hardie, "The Moxon Tennyson: 1857," Book-Lover's Magazine 7 (1907):46.

[8]June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 101.

[9]Letter from Moxon to Emily Tennyson, April 1858. June Steffenson Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 105.

[10].Letter from Allingham to W.M. Rossetti, dated August 17, 1857. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham: 1854-1870 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897):104.

[11]William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1913):I, 229.

[12]Ibid., I, 111.

[13]Letter from Tennyson to Rossetti, dated Dec. 1st, 1850. Oswald Doughty, D.G.Rossetti: A Victorian Romantic (London: F Muller, 1949):108.

[14]Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir (London: Macmillan, 1905):297. On May 22, 1853, Millais wrote to Rossetti indicating that Tennyson had talked to him about an illustrated edition that Tennyson had been "inclined to give them great part."

[15]Angus Davidson, Edward Lear: Landscape Painter and Nonsense Poet (New York: Kennikat Press, 1968):83.

[16]Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, p. 316. G.H. Fleming also mentions a letter from Millias to Rossetti (May 22, 1853) where Millias says that Tennyson spoke of an illustrated edition and that Tennyson "seemed inclined to give the great part" of the designing to the

Pre-Raphaelites. G.H. Fleming, That Ne'er Shall Meet Again: Rossetti, Millais, Hunt (London: Michael Joseph, 1971):83.

[17]Unpublished letter from the Tennyson Research Centre as cited in June Steffensen Hagen, Tennyson and His Publishers, p. 104. Also cited in Catherine Barnes Stevenson, "How it Struck a Contemporary: Tennyson's 'Lancelot and Elaine' and Pre-Raphaelite Art," The Victorian Newsletter (Fall 1981):9.

[18]Letter from Millias to Effie, July 1854. G.H. Flemings, That Ne'er Shall Meet Again, p. 83.

[19]Millais visited from October 22 to 25, 1854.

[20]Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, p. 328.

[21]Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, p. 354.

[22]Letter from Emily Tennyson to Thomas Woolner, October 23,1869. Emily Tennyson, The Letters of Emily Tennyson, ed. James O. Hoge (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Press, 1974):244.

[23]Letter from Emily Tennyson to Woolner, May 27,1856. Emily Tennyson, The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson, p. 99.

[24]Frank Stone was a reviewer for the Athenaeum.

[25]Athenaeum (20 April 1850).

[26]Illustrated London News (4 May 1850).

[27]G.H. Fleming, Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London: Rupert Hart & Davis, 1967):142.

[28]In practical terms, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood ceased to exist as a coherent group in 1853.

[29]Richard L. Stein, "The Pre-Raphaelite Tennyson," Victorian Studies (Spring 1981):289.

[30]The Critic (June 1, 1850):278.

[31]In later years, his style changed as he became more conservative in light of public reaction. In 1845 Browning wrote to Elizabeth Barrett that "Tennyson reads the 'Quarterlies' and does as they bid him, with the most solemn face in the world - out goes this, in goes that, all is changed and ranged." Browning to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 11 February 1845. Robert Browning, and Elizabeth Barret Browning, The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett ed. Elvan Kinter (Cambridge, Mass., 1969):19.

[32]Tennyson as quoted in Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, p. 320.

[33]David Masson, British Quarterly Review (1852):197-220.

[34]Tennyson's and Hunt's discussion is documented in Martin Hardie, "The Moxon Tennyson: 1857," Book-Lover's magazine 7 (1907):49.

[35]Letter from Rossetti to Morris, June(?) 1857. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, p. 325.

[36].Letter from William Rossetti to his mother Frances Rossetti, 1 September, 1858. Ibid., p. 208.

[37]Elisabeth Luther Cary, "Rossetti as Illustrator," Lamp 27 (1903):322.

[38]Letter from Rossetti to Jane Morris, December 19, 1876. G.H. Fleming, That Ne'er Shall Meet Again, p. 414.

Conclusion

The controversy over the Pre-Raphaelites' Moxon Tennyson illustrations was perhaps summed up by George Meredith's assessment: "That they have not satisfied the public is less a fault of theirs than a proof of the difficulty of the undertaking." Meredith probably had no idea as to the extent of the "difficulty" which the collaborators of the Moxon Tennyson experienced. Moxon, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Tennyson, all entered into the production with personal agendas. Moxon wished to create a deluxe Poet Laureate edition which he felt would profit both himself and Tennyson, who was in need of funds. Tennyson had no new poems at the time, and after considering Moxon's past success with illustrated editions, also felt that the book would sell easily and require little work on his part. The Pre-Raphaelites viewed the Moxon Tennyson as an opportunity to broaden their audience, and considered it to be the perfect vehicle to facilitate their new style of illustration. Tennyson's style of poetry favoured the use of symbolism and typology, which were intrinsic components of Pre-Raphaelitism. Rossetti, in particular, found in Tennyson's poems, suitable passages of inspiration which allowed him to "allegorize on one's own hook." As well, Tennyson's use of the Arthurian legends provided the Pre-Raphaelites with a large body of imagery and symbolism. Tennyson stressed the emotional dimension of the legends, which Rossetti also addressed in his illustrations.

Moxon abandoned his usual format and production schedule with the Moxon Tennyson which resulted in poor sales of the book. Rather than utilizing the understated publishing format which had characterized Tennyson's earlier poems, Moxon opted for a luxurious edition which was expensive to produce and purchase. Moxon abandoned his original plan to commission only academic artists, and instead honoured Tennyson's wishes

to include the Pre-Raphaelites. Combining the two very different styles of illustration in one book polarized the book-buying public and negatively impacted on sales. The controversial Pre-Raphaelite illustrations were also criticized by the contemporary periodicals and further undermined Moxon's advertising strategy. Clearly, the critics viewed the role of illustration in a different light from the Pre-Raphaelites. While Rossetti and his Pre-Raphaelite brothers refused to subjugate their illustrations to the poems, their reviewers felt that the illustrations should mirror the text. The critics found Rossetti's illustrations to be spatially awkward and his symbolism difficult to interpret.

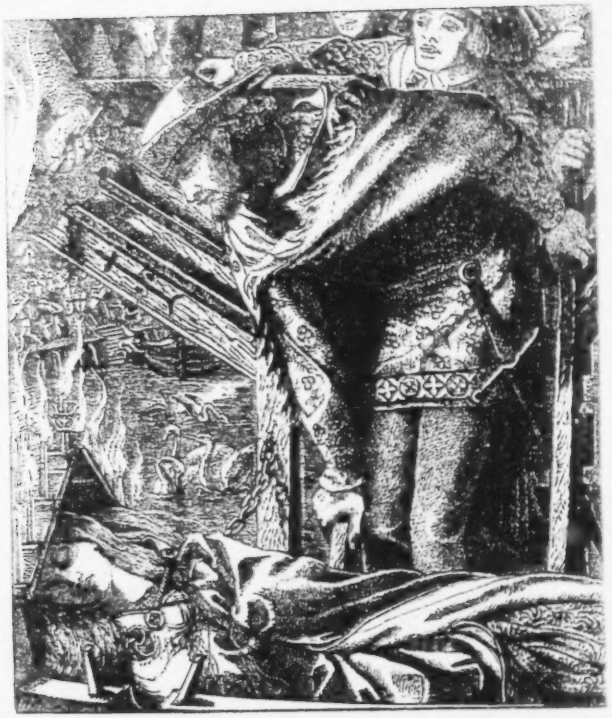
Fortunately, the Pre-Raphaelites' talents were belatedly recognized by the public and in later years the Moxon Tennyson began to sell and eventually warranted reprints. The Moxon Tennyson proved to be a difficult and challenging undertaking, complicated by a traditionally unyielding artistic scene. However, the Pre-Raphaelites challenged the status quo with their designs and significantly affected the history of British illustration.

1. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia: The Palace of Art, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 7.9 cm). Moxon Tennyson.

2. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur: The Palace of Art, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 1/8 x 3 11/16 in. (8.0 x 9.4 cm). Moxon Tennyson.

3. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mariana in the South, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 13/16 x 3 1/4 in. (9.7 x 8.2 cm). Moxon Tennyson.

4. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Sir Galahad, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 3/4 x 3 1/8 in. (8.0 x 9.5 cm). Moxon Tennyson.



5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 3/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm). Moxon Tennyson.

6. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Maids of Elfen-Mere, 1855, wood engraving on paper, 4 15/16 x 3 in. (12.5 x 7.6 cm). William Allingham, Music Master (London: Routledge, 1855).

7. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901).

8. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901).

9. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mariana in the South, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co., 1901).

10. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, pen and ink, 3 7/8 x 3 1/4 in. (9.8 x 8.2 cm). Permission of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

11. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Cecilia, 1856-7, 5 x 4 in. (12.7 x 10.2 cm), pen and brown and black ink. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

12. William Holman Hunt, The Lady of Shalott, 1856-7, photograph of the original woodblock drawing before engraving. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Some Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson (London: Freemantle & Co. 1901).

13. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, St. Celcilia, 1856, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 7.9 cm). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

14. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Arthur, 1857, proof on paper, 3 1/8 x 3 11/16 in. (8.0 x 9.4 cm). Courtsey of the Trustees of the British Museum.

15. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 (9.4 cm x 8.1 cm). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

16. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, proof on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm). By courtesy of the Board of Trusteees of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

KING ARTHUR'S DEATH
On Trinity Monday in the morn,
This sore battayle was doomed to be,
Where many a knight cryed, 'Well-away!'
Alack, it was the more pitie!'
Ere the first crowing of the cock,
When as the king in his bed lay,
He thought Sir Gawaine to him came,

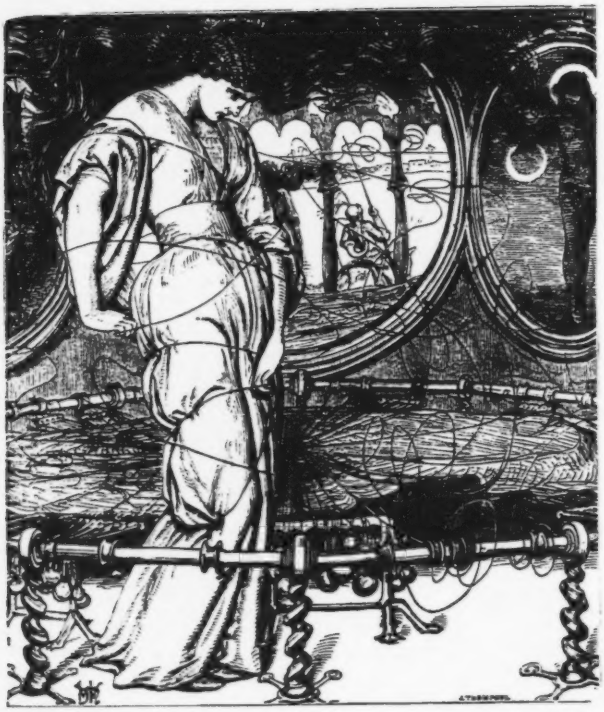
17. John Franklin, King Arthur's Death, 1842, wood engraving on paper. Samuel Carter Hall, The Book of British Ballads (London: J. How, 1842).

THE PALACE OF ART.

I BUILT my soul a lordly pleasure-house,
Wherein at ease for aye to dwell.
I said, " O Soul, make merry and carouse,
Dear soul, for all is well."

18. Page 113 from the Moxon Tennyson.
Illustration by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

19. Gustave Doré, The Body of Elaine on Its Way to King Arthur's Palace, 1868, steel engraving on paper. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Idylls of the King (London: Moxon & Co., 1868).



20. William Holman Hunt, The Lady of Shalott, 1857, wood engraving on paper, 3 11/16 x 3 1/16 in. (9.4 x 8.1 cm). Moxon Tennyson.

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